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AND ITS HISTORY

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OF

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RELATING TO ENGLISH AFFAIRS,

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VOL. II.

1509—1519.  
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EDITED BY

RAWDON BROWN.

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THE Editors of Calendars published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls are requested to confine any Prefatory Remarks they may consider necessary to prefix to their Volumes to an explanation of the Papers therein contained.

(Signed) ROMILLY.

13th June 1867.



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## PREFACE.

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viii      PREFACE

On the continent of Europe the change may be dated a little earlier. At the close of the 15th century, and the beginning of the 16th, the continual agitations and aggressions with which the great continental powers were endeavouring to extend or consolidate their dominions, brought about the closest intercourse between the different members of the European family. Leagues

## PREFACE.

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THE death of Henry VII., with which the first volume of the Calendar of Venetian State Papers closed, is nearly coincident with the commencement of what has been called the diplomatic period of European history. It was only by slow degrees that the occasional mission of special envoys was consolidated into the permanent residence of an accredited agent, but, if in a change so gradual, it is possible to mark the precise moment of transition, the transformation, as regards the relations of Venice with England, may be dated from the appointment of Andrea Trevisano as ambassador in June 1497, to acknowledge formally the adhesion of Henry VII. to the "Holy League." Yet it appears that some years later, in 1515, Henry VIII. considers the continuous succession of ambassadors so little a matter of course, that on the arrival of Giustinian to relieve Badoer, he thanks the Signory for so gratifying a mark of deference—"perpetui erga nos studii ac benevolentie" (p. 230). In fact, between the departure, in 1498, of Trevisan (whose sonorous name Spenser has introduced into the Faery Queen, canto 9,) and the arrival of Badoer, in 1509, no envoy appeared in England to represent the Republic. And Badoer, though no one probably foresaw it at the time, proved to be the first of the long series of ambassadors who resided at the English court in succession, unbroken except by political causes, from the last year of Henry VII. to the final downfall of the Republic in 1797.





On the continent of Europe the change may be dated a little earlier. At the close of the 15th century, and the beginning of the 16th, the continual agitations and aggressions with which the great continental powers were endeavouring to extend or consolidate their dominions, brought about the closest intercourse between the different members of the European family. Leagues of spoliation and partition, leagues of guarantee and protection, of attack and defence, succeeded each other with endless variety of combination. The balance of power was recognized as the leading principle of the statesman's policy; and how to enforce it in the case of his neighbour and to elude it in his own became, as it has been ever since, the prime object of his ambition, which called into action all the resources of his genius and all the arts of diplomacy. At the League of Cambray, the effect of which upon the foreign policy of the English court forms the chief subject of the present volume, the intrigues and artifices of diplomatic treachery sprang into a rank luxuriance of perfection which has never since been surpassed.

In the last month of the year 1508, in the deepest secrecy, was signed that unprincipled treaty of spoliation, by which the great powers of the continent bound themselves to fall upon the Republic of Venice by surprise, in a time of profound peace, and, in despite of the most solemn obligations, to despoil her of her territories.

It is unnecessary to dwell on a passage of history so often narrated in detail and so well known, but it will assist the reader in following the clue of the complicated negotiations recorded in the following pages, to call to mind the terms of the proposed partition. The Pope it was stipulated was to recover, as he called it, not only Imola and Cesena, which had belonged to Cæsar Borgia, and which Venice had occupied on his fall, but Cervia and Ravenna,







and other portions of Romagna of which the Republic had long enjoyed undisputed possession. The Emperor demanded Piacenza, Verona, the Italian Tyrol, the Friuli, and all the other states of which, either as Emperor or head of the house of Austria, he could claim for his predecessors either the suzerainty or the actual possession. The King of France was to receive as his share of the prize Brescia, Cremona, and those portions of the Milanese which he had not long before ceded to the Venetians as the price of their assistance in conquering the duchy." King Ferdinand of Spain had combined with France to deprive his cousin Frederic of the kingdom of Naples, and had recently become its sole Sovereign by despoiling his confederate of the covenanted share of the plunder, but some of his principal seaports remained in the occupation of the Venetians, to whom they had been pledged by the unfortunate Frederic as security for a loan of money. Ferdinand was bribed into complicity by the promise of recovering his towns without paying the debt for which they had been pawned. Further, room was left for several minor powers to enter into the confederation hereafter, and on condition of their lending their aid to dispatch the dying lion of St. Mark, there was reserved for them a specified portion of his spoils. Moreover, as if all this was not enough, we find (p. 44) that subsequently the Signory of Florence, unauthorized by the allies, informed the Sultan Bajazet of the league, and invited him to take possession of the oriental dominions of the Republic. But the suspicious Turk rejected the news as incredible, and refused to take the insidious advice.

Henry VII. had been solicited to accede to the league, but, in spite of the evidence of some historians to the contrary, it is clear that he never for a moment entertained the proposal. It may not at first sight appear obvious





why the intrigues for the spoliation of an Italian state are so minutely detailed in a calendar of despatches relating exclusively to English statesmen and English affairs. But in fact the neutral position of England, and the absence of any direct interest in the struggle which made her policy doubtful only rendered the disposition of her Sovereign an object of greater anxiety to all the contending parties, and to win him over was the prime object of rival diplomatists. Henry VIII. had just succeeded to an undisputed crown, to the treasures and resources amassed by his unscrupulous father, and to the influence matured by the cautious and far-sighted policy of that crafty Sovereign. The youthful King was high spirited, haughty, and ambitious. He was unfettered by previous ties of any kind; the treaties of the State, according to the practice of the age, became void by the death of the Sovereign. All eyes were turned with the deepest interest on the new actor just entering on the stage, and England became immediately (after Rome) the chief focus of diplomatic intrigue.

The impolicy of the league of Cambray was so obvious, so manifestly greater was the danger which each of the contracting Sovereigns would incur from the success of the others, than the advantage which he could gain for himself, that by the wisest statesmen of the day the ultimate formation of such a league, though it had been twice attempted before, was considered all but impossible; and subsequent historians for the most part have explained the difficulty by supposing that no party was quite sincere, and that each, after securing his own portion of the spoil, trusted to intrigue and the chapter of accidents to defraud his confederates of the fruits of their common treachery. This the Signory knew must be the case with the Pope, whose first object professedly had been the expulsion of





the barbarians from Italy, though he always sacrificed it to his own unacknowledged, but still dearer ambition, the enlargement of the Papal dominions; and on this knowledge they acted.

The second letter in this volume, dated May 30, 1509, contains the announcement by the Senate to the ambassador in England, Badoer, of the battle, or rather, as they have the moral courage and wisdom to call it, the rout of Ghiara d'Adda.

In consequence of this disaster, the Signory lost for the time nearly the whole of their possessions on the continent of Italy. Their troops retired with a precipitation which has left it a matter of doubt to the historian whether the retreat was the necessary consequence of disaster, or whether it was a stroke of profound policy by which the Senate endeavoured to divide the confederates, by at once surrendering the prize for the acquisition of which they had coalesced, and in the partition of which they could not fail to quarrel and to separate. Be this as it may, it is clear that the Senate never contemplated permanently surrendering their territories to the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. But the Pope, who was the presiding spirit of the league, and who gave it the religious sanction of a crusade, it was necessary to detach at once from his confederates, and for that purpose Venetian statesmen were ready to cede without a struggle to the Roman See absolutely and for ever all that it claimed for the Church. From that moment the Senate well knew that it must be the secret desire of the Pope to defeat the conspiracy, however necessary it might be to maintain a menacing and hostile attitude towards Venice for the purpose of preserving appearances, and avoiding the reproach and the risks of desertion. It was no less the policy of the Republic to abate the martial ardour of





Ferdinand by giving up, without a struggle, the seaports they could no longer defend. Having gained his object without striking a blow, it was clearly not his interest to aggrandize his accomplices; his attitude became one of inaction, though it did not cease to be one of watchfulness and observation.

Henry was the only Sovereign to whom the Senate could apply openly and confidently for aid. His mediation at the Vatican for the purpose of obtaining for the Republic absolution from the spiritual censures with which the Pope, according to the unscrupulous practice of the Holy See, had backed his temporal arms, was the first object in order of time and importance; but scarcely less necessary was his intercession with the Emperor, whose vanity the Senate hoped to soothe by an acknowledgment of his suzerainty over the disputed provinces, and whose avarice they felt confident of bribing by the offer of a tribute. The only question, they thought, was how little the needy Maximilian could be induced to accept, and if Henry would act as arbitrator he might prevent the exaction of an exorbitant sum (p. 10 *et seq.*) Besides these most legitimate objects the earnest endeavour of both the Senate and their ambassador in London was to seek every occasion to embroil Henry with King Lewis, and to exasperate into a serious quarrel the trifling causes of offence which Henry's susceptible temper was so ready to find.

Scotland, too, plays no unimportant part in these negotiations. Her sovereign was bound by the traditional maxims of his race to maintain the alliance with the King of France, who expected his Scotch ally to keep in check the King of England by the perpetual dread of invasion, just as the King of England was looked to by all continental belligerents as the instrument for diverting the attention and dividing the resources of





France. Some curious information is given (p. 31) as to the extent to which the overtures proceeded, which were made by the warlike and restless James IV. to obtain employment under the Venetian Republic, as her general-in-chief, and the condottiero or mercenary leader of a large subsidiary force of his own. It seems probable that the proposal, though seriously made by the King, was only a feeler, and not being warmly received by the Senate, was soon dropped; had it taken effect it is difficult to calculate what changes would have been wrought in the "tissue of events if the warlike spirits who fell at Flodden had been transported to the plains of Lombardy to restore the fortunes of Venice.

The correspondence in the early part of the volume shows how warmly the English ambassador Bainbridge, Archbishop of York, and afterwards Cardinal, forwarded the Senate's views by his mediation with the Pope, and how carefully the Venetian ambassadors courted the English Cardinal. It is worthy of notice, as illustrating the feelings of the age, that although they were not allowed to join the procession which went out to meet his "Right Reverend Lordship" on his entry into Rome, because the Republic was under interdict (p. 8); nevertheless they were at this very time admitted to the most familiar intimacy by the Pope, who no doubt felt the Venetians were in reality fighting his battle, and who probably was little scared by the terrors of his own excommunication.

On the 24th February 1510 (p. 15), the censures were removed and absolution was given to the six Venetian ambassadors who had been sent expressly to negotiate the re-admission of the Republic into the pale of Christendom. At this point may be said to end the first phase of the League of Cambray. The negotiations with the Emperor had totally failed. Had he been ready with his army to join





the allies at the moment when they began the attack, or even to take possession of his share of the spoil, when acquired by the arms of others, the losses of Venice would probably have been irrecoverable, but, as usual, his performance lagged in the rear of his promise; he made conquests by proxy, and was so pleased with this easy success that, fortunately for the Republic, as it afterwards proved, he refused to accept the costly and advantageous compromise she offered.

In the second act of the League of Cambray, the grand object of the Signory was to cement a close alliance with the Pope, and with the Pope's help, to form a general league against France. The Holy Father on his part showed no less eagerness. He sent the consecrated rose at Easter to Henry, and used every art to attach him to the Holy See and to embroil him with Lewis. It was evidently the high probability of succeeding in this attempt that encouraged Julius to throw off the mask and pick a quarrel with France. When (p. 24) the peace which had been interrupted only by Henry VII.'s death was formally renewed between the two unfriendly neighbours, the Pope resented his disappointment as an injury, and used violent and insulting language to the English ambassador: "Vui siete tutti ribaldi.—You " are all scoundrels." It was true he might complain that proper respect had not been shown by giving him an earlier intimation of the negotiations; but to communicate them to the Roman Court would have been to ensure their defeat. The importance which was attached to the co-operation of England is shown by the dismay with which the news of the pacification with France was received. For a time the flight of the Holy Father from Rome and the preparation of galleys for his reception at Ancona were seriously contemplated. (p. 25.)







But this event, which caused so much consternation at the time, is now read without interest by the student of history. It seems on retrospect to have occurred as a matter of course, and it was followed by no important result. The relations between England and France were rendered uncertain by the death of the English sovereign; but they were not absolutely changed, and there was no real cause for war. The formal renewal of peace, though it relieved Lewis from apprehension on his northern frontier, added but little vigour to the operations of one, so reluctant to proceed to extremities against the Church; nor did it in fact increase the small amount of cordiality which existed between the rival monarchs.

The Pope soon recovered his courage, and (p. 37) with fresh eagerness continued his efforts to sow the seeds of discord. In these efforts Venice actively concurred, and not without success. There is mention of loans from Henry to the Republic, and of a call to arms early in 1511, though no actual hostilities were intended, "as a demonstration against France." (p. 43.) In the strange campaign which the Pope made in person this year, against the French general De Chaumont, the English ambassador, Archbishop of York, and a Cardinal, accepted a command as one of the Papal legates, and arrayed in armour, headed the attack on the bastion of Genivolo. (p. 46.)

Peace, nevertheless, still subsisted between England and France, but at last, on the occupation of Bologna by the French troops, Henry's zeal was inflamed to the utmost by this sacrilegious violation of church property; and after some preliminary projects a league was signed between Spain, England, Venice, and the Pope. (p. 51.)

The Pope as usual had employed his spiritual arms





to back his temporal interests, and had excommunicated the French armies. Lewis on his part, anxious to distinguish his resistance to the reigning Pontiff from disobedience to the Holy See, had summoned a so called General Council at Pisa, "to reform the Church in its head and in its members," but in so doing he exposed himself to the charge of schism, and to all the dangers which that charge involved. To resist this schismatical attempt the Pope summoned a Council at the Lateran, and in full session with great pomp Henry's accession to the league was announced. (p. 61.)

The year 1512 opened as its predecessor had closed, with great preparations for a joint invasion of France by England and Spain. Among the details of these preparations which are given in the following correspondence, it is curious at this time, when our attention has been so painfully drawn by a recent calamity to the statistics of our agricultural stocks, to learn that in Henry VIII.'s time the demand for 25,000 oxen to be killed and salted down for the use of the troops caused a rise in the price of beef of 300 per cent. From a penny the pound of meat rose to threepence. (p. 63.)

In the same page there is a letter from Henry dated May 24th, written in great perplexity and uncertainty as to the issue of the battle of Ravenna, fought on the 11th April preceding, reports of which had only just reached him without details and of contradictory tenor.

Undismayed, however, by the success of France which he must have soon heard with certainty, he pursued his operations with only the greater ardour, and the diversion he thus effected no doubt powerfully contributed to the unexpected result of this brilliant victory of French arms,—a victory which in fact was followed by all the consequences of defeat. The death of the youthful hero





who commanded in chief, Gaston de Foix, and who left no worthy successor, and the losses of the troops, which Lewis was unable to make up by reinforcements, compelled an immediate retreat. The allies restored the Duke of Milan to his duchy, and the Pope ere long was able to congratulate himself on having driven the barbarians from Italy.

But again this leading idea, this dominant passion, gave way to the convenience of the moment. Maximilian had affected to consider the league as directed against himself, and in various ways had endeavoured to defeat it, more especially by the hackneyed, but never discarded device, of proposing a league among all the powers of Christendom to attack the Turk (pp. 67, 68), while he justified his animosity against the Republic by the strangest and most incredible accusations (p. 77). His neutral position was very strong. He was the ally of France, and as the only ally was sure of her best offices. He was courted by every member of the league and especially by Venice, who was willing to buy from him by any sacrifice of money and surrender of sovereign rights the speedy possession of her provinces. But Maximilian insisted on securing the whole of the objects of his ambition, and now the prize seemed within his grasp. The Pope, after having made the numerous efforts recorded in the following correspondence, to reconcile the Emperor to Venice, but finding it impossible to adjust the claims of two contending parties, one of whom insisted on possessing the property, which the other as steadily refused to give up, resolved on changing his policy and sacrificing Venice. Despairing of keeping the French out of Italy if the Emperor remained hostile, he agreed with Spain to compel Venice to accept such terms as they should dictate, and hard terms they were. The Emperor was to obtain almost all he contended for,







and Venice was to retain only Padua and Treviso. Accordingly when Brescia was on the point of surrendering to the Venetian general, the Spaniards marched up, admitted the garrison to a capitulation, and took possession in the name of the league.

This brought on the third and last phase of the League of Cambray. Julius miscalculated the power of the allies, and the resources as well as the courage and firmness of the Republic. The Signory were determined not to allow the toil, the treasure, and the blood of four years to be expended on their own destruction, and to accept in victory the terms they had refused in defeat. Without discontinuing their endeavours to bring Maximilian to reason, they sounded the inclinations of Lewis. Mutual need induced the King and the Republic to forget past animosities, and after many previous rumours (p. 92) which, from their variety and multiplicity, prove that politicians saw Venice had no other resource, on March 26th an alliance was officially announced with France for the purpose of restoring the duchy of Milan to the King, and her own provinces to the Republic. The objections to this new alliance were many and obvious, and loud were the remonstrances of the Pope and of the English court. But the Signory were playing their last card. Subsequently when Pope Leo X. reminded Lippomano, a Venetian whom he admitted to his intimacy, of the feebleness and treachery of France, "then," retorted the patriot, "we will appeal to the Turk" (p. 121), and at this sally his Holiness laughed. "Risolvuntur tabulæ."

Henry's policy seems to have been honest and straightforward throughout. He refused to be a party to the league with Maximilian, and remonstrated against the spoliation of Venice (No. 208). But nothing could be more untoward or more inconvenient to himself





than the reconciliation of Venice with France, and nothing more faithless than the treatment he received at the hands of his other allies. At the suggestion of his father-in-law, Ferdinand the Catholic, he had undertaken the conquest of Guienne. His preparations were made on a suitable scale. He sent out troops whose athletic forms and martial bearing were the astonishment of the Venetian merchant Pasquiligo (p. 66), and for several pages the letters from England are full of the accounts of the vast naval armaments. But all this force Ferdinand contrived to divert to the conquest of the neutral state of Navarre for himself from the professed purpose of recovering Guienne for Henry from the common enemy.

The various events of this disappointing expedition are to be found in the following correspondence, not in the form of an historical narrative, but given from time to time as the various reports and their confirmations or contradictions arrive from various quarters. In calendaring the Venetian Archives, I have thought it right to place each notice according to its own date, and not according to the date of the fact to which it refers. The reader will thus find occasionally the false account inserted after the true one, the vague rumour after the detailed narrative, and events mentioned as prospective which previous entries state to have actually occurred. But the perplexity which may thus be created, will be easily avoided by proper attention to the dates of time and place, and to follow any other course would create much confusion, and in many cases divert the attention of the reader from the chief interest these entries possess; the interest which arises from observing the degree of speed at which truth travels, and the disfiguration it suffers in its journey. Readers who only are in quest of amusement may per-





haps think that some of the entries might have been omitted as repetitions or of little value. But I beg to remind these critics that it is not my province to select such passages from the Venetian Archives as in my judgment are of interest to the English reader, or of value to the English historian. It is not for me to say to what future use any given entry may be turned; it is my humble duty to make a catalogue of such papers as refer *directly* to England and English subjects, and by stating the contents of each, to save trouble to the future investigator of Venetian Archives. In this point of view my success is as complete when my Calendar proves to the student that a given paper does not deserve his attention, as when it is my good fortune to discover an important document.

Ferdinand put the finishing stroke to his treachery by making a separate truce with France without consulting his ally and son-in-law, nor had his conduct in the slightest degree the excuse of provocation or urgent need which could be pleaded by Venice. So obvious indeed was the necessity by which the Republic was impelled, and so great too was her popularity in this country, that while the Spanish ambassador dared not appear in the streets for fear of the mob (p. 196), the alliance of Venice with the enemy produced little or no estrangement, after the first mortification was got over, either among the people or at the court.

Early in the year 1514 Julius died, and was succeeded by Leo X. But the policy of the Vatican is immortal, and little seems to have been gained to the Republic or to Europe by the change. With his dying breath, Julius boasted that the French were out of Italy; and for a time the principal scene of military operations was shifted to the north. Venice could not lay the storm she had







raised. Henry, deceived and betrayed in the south by his allies, again endeavoured to form alliances which again were destined to fail him, and prepared to invade the north-eastern frontier of France. The unfortunate expedition to Guienne had been commanded by Grey, Marquis of Dorset; this time Henry placed at the head of his troops the Earl of Shrewsbury, whose family name we are told (pp. 73 and 75), had for generations been used by French mothers to scare their children into obedience; and accordingly at the head of a formidable force this nobleman landed at Calais, shortly to be followed by the King in person. Scotland as usual, though James was Henry's brother-in-law, was put in motion against England. No. 238 is the calendar of a letter written by the English King on the death of Julius, which conveys a lamentable idea of the state of the diplomatic relations between the two countries, and though Henry's diplomacy is proved by the following correspondence to be less tortuous than that of his neighbours, yet he ends by giving directions for intercepting the Scotch ambassador to the Pope (the Bishop of Murray), to whom he himself had given a safeconduct. Indeed, the rights of ambassadors and the theoretical inviolability of their persons and papers seem by no means to have been generally acknowledged: at p. 295 we find Wolsey opening the French ambassador's papers, and roundly rating him for their contents: at p. 341 he threatens the Pope's nuncio with the rack, an extremity to which it must be supposed he could not have proceeded except in his quality of legate à latere: at p. 224 the ambassadors on their way to Paris and London are cautioned by the Signory to be on their guard against the tricks of one Coppo, a man of the worst character, who ultimately ended his days by suicide (p. 386), and who had lately made an audacious attempt to seize the papers and





cipher of the Venetian ambassador at the Spanish court; an outrage for which is not easy to assign a motive, unless treachery and subornation in high places had made diplomatic papers a marketable article. Indeed the close juxtaposition of the name of Ferdinand of Arragon, who is said to have sent this infamous person on a secret and important mission to France, suggests the idea that the suspicions of the Council reached no less a person than his Catholic Majesty himself.

Very full accounts are given by various correspondents of the siege and destruction of Terouenne (p. 113 *et seq.*); of the battle of the Spurs, with lists of the prisoners taken; also of the advent of the Scotch herald to declare war, and the terms of his defiance, which differ slightly from those recorded by the English chronicler. These are followed by the arrival of Maximilian, who preferred coming in person to give his advice to sending his promised contingent, and then by the siege of Tournay. Henry now commanded in person, having appointed Catherine as Regent in his absence, and in return for the gratification afforded to his vanity by the presence of an Emperor in his camp, he probably forgave the failure of more substantial support. The reader cannot fail to remark how much superior in correctness is the report of the Venetian ambassador to that of every other correspondent, yet it is evident there is a bias, but the bias is changed; there is now a tendency to believe all news that is favourable to France and to Scotland.

Just before the surrender of Tournay, the battle of Flodden is announced, in two remarkable notices. The first, No. 307, is an announcement by Mons. de Luçon to the French ambassador at Rome, that the Viceroy of England with his army of 30,000 men had been routed. Few had escaped capture or death. The Viceroy with 15





of his chief lords had been taken prisoners, and "*this was as true as Gospel.*" The next, No. 309, is a letter from Henry himself to Maximilian Sforza, the restored Duke of Milan. It is remarkable for its freedom from exaggeration, and for its tone of forbearance and moderation, and bears an advantageous comparison with the letter of Brian Tuke, the "*scriba regius*," a very long and interesting one, which will be found at p. 131. The King gives a summary of the Earl of Surrey's first despatch, which was forwarded by the Queen Regent to Tournay; at that time the fate of James was uncertain. In a few hours another courier arrived, and the King adds, in a P.S., "The King of Scots himself perished in the battle, his body having been found and recognized, and taken to the nearest church. He thus paid a heavier penalty for his perfidy than we would have wished."

For many pages following, fresh and contradictory accounts of the battle of Flodden are to be found. The echoes of that striking event seem to return again and again with different varieties of sound from the most distant parts of Europe. The French agents everywhere seem to have spread and to have persevered in spreading the report of a Scotch victory. Several puzzled correspondents come to the conclusion that the French always tell falsehoods, and the Pope, like the royal psalmist, protests all men are liars, and he can believe nobody. For long the uncertainty that at first hung over the Scottish King's fate was protracted, and produced the report that he was alive. At last the rumour takes a distinct form in the assertion (p. 149) that the body found was that of a bastard brother. In the course of the correspondence the reader will find detailed the steps which the English court took to verify the King's death, and the proofs of it which were sent to London.

In the autumn the King of England, deserted, if not





betrayed, by all his allies, returned to his own land. The entries for the rest of the year relate chiefly to his preparations for continuing the war, and the various negotiations to which the complicated situation gave rise. Venice was obliged to continue her attempts to make terms with Maximilian in order to justify to the Pope and to all Italy her alliance with France. In the meanwhile, for the purpose of turning that alliance to account, she exerted all her influence to reconcile Henry to Lewis, in order that the latter might resume the war in Italy. Yet, if Maximilian accepted the Venetian offer, the Republic would have had no small difficulty in disengaging herself from her entanglement with France; and it would have been her interest to obstruct the pacification which she was now labouring to effect. The obstinacy, however, of Maximilian was probably foreseen, and certainly that obstinacy was justified as a political calculation, for the Pope and the Italian powers, especially Ferdinand, as Sovereign of Naples, too weak or too timid to take the bold and honest course of compelling Maximilian to desist from his unjust pretensions, resorted, as we have already seen, to the easier method of trying by threats or persuasion to make Venice submit to them and acquiesce in being plundered.

Henry continued to be courted by all parties, especially the Pope, who at Christmas sent him the sword and consecrated cap of maintenance, of which he so far misunderstood the emblematical character, as to cause himself not only to be solemnly invested with them, but actually to wear them at St. Paul's, and, notwithstanding their preposterous size, to walk in procession with them round the church; an interesting account of the ceremony is given at p. 178. In the spring of the following year, 1514, the peace between England and France





was at last concluded, and the marriage of Henry's youthful sister Mary was celebrated with the infirm rather than aged Lewis. The details of the rejoicings and the ceremonies on both sides of the water occupy much space (pp. 108-9, *et seq.*), and are full of interest to the lovers of archæology and illustrated history. In the meantime, diplomacy was as active as ever. The Pope, though he seems to have promoted the English alliance, desired to deter King Lewis (p. 215) from undertaking the Italian expedition. Venice, on the other hand, exerted all her energies to promote an enterprise on which now it seemed her last hope rested. The Signory sent to England a new ambassador, Sebastian Giustinian, whose despatches form so prominent a portion of the present volume. His instructions were to take Paris in his way, where for a time he was to join the resident ambassador at the French court, and second his efforts to animate Lewis to the recovery of Milan.

He came provided with letters of congratulation, and gifts; rings for the secretary Robertet, and a jewelled cap for the royal bride. But, alas for the mutability of human affairs! On his journey he was informed of the sudden death of Lewis. At Lyons he received fresh credentials, and letters suited to the altered circumstances—condolences for congratulations to the widowed bride, and mingled condolences and congratulations to the new sovereign. He was prudently instructed to say not a word about the presents, but to inquire who were the favourites and influential advisers of the new Sovereign.

In the course of the year 1514 there occur two remarkable entries, relative to the death of Cardinal Bainbridge by poison; at p. 188 it is stated that his chaplain had been arrested on suspicion, and had destroyed himself, having previously confessed he had been instigated to commit the





crime by an Englishman, "uno del paese d'Inghilterra;" and at p. 219 the Venetian ambassador at Rome informs the State that no less a person than the Bishop de Giglis, Henry's own ambassador, had been arrested on suspicion, but had been acquitted.

The year 1515 opened with the death of Lewis, the succession of Francis, and the intrigues to which this change in the *dramatis personæ* gave rise.

The alliances of the late King required renewal and confirmation, though to prevent confusion it had been stipulated that the peace concluded between Lewis and Henry should hold good for one year after the death of either. The grand question that occupied all the diplomatists was, "Is it possible the new Sovereign should cross the Alps this year?" Henry believed himself master of the situation. He was so far deceived by the flatteries of the Pope as to fancy he could at his pleasure decide the direction of the tortuous policy of the Vatican, and, accordingly as he maintained a friendly or hostile attitude, could forbid or permit Francis to undertake the expedition into Italy (p. 252). His irritation, therefore, is very intelligible when he found that Francis, without even apprising him of his intention, set forth towards Milan, and, preferring the traditional policy of embroiling England with Scotland to relying on the goodwill of his capricious and haughty ally, sent the Duke of Albany to Scotland to make good his pretensions to the Regency and disturb the government of Henry's sister, the widowed Queen.

At p. 242 occurs the first mention of Wolsey, Archbishop of York, but almost immediately after the ambassador discovers that Wolsey is the mainspring of every movement, and that it is useless to apply to any one else. It was the policy of Wolsey and the inclination of Henry to oppose in every way the progress of the French arms in Italy, and for





this purpose the new minister laboured by every art to detach Venice from France. Giustinian was assailed with prophecies that France would either cheat the Republic by taking all the fruits of victory to herself, or that she would make a separate peace for herself and abandon her ally; and when he was assailed in vain, both the King and the Cardinal scrupled not to pledge their words, on the faith of a King and by honour of the Cardinalate, at sundry times, that one or other of these treacherous schemes was on the point of execution. It is not at all improbable that they might have received letters from Rome (as they asserted) to the effect that this treachery was intended, or even that it had been consummated; it would, doubtless, be rumoured that an event had actually occurred which to every politician of the time must have appeared so probable. But it certainly excites our suspicion of the veracity of these great personages when we find that whatever was most likely to intimidate and distress the ambassador, the King and his minister happened to have heard from the Pope that very morning.

In the course of war and diplomacy the dispute between the Emperor and the Republic was narrowed to the possession of two towns, Brescia and Verona. To the Emperor they were the keys which gave him the entrance to Italy whenever he chose to invade her fertile plains. To Venice they were the strongholds, without which she could neither occupy any province beyond them nor retain any between their guns and the lagunes. To defend these important posts Henry sent remittances to the Emperor, at first clandestinely, and at last boastfully and tauntingly. A marked change of manner and language on the part of the Cardinal and the courtiers gradually took place towards the Venetian ambassador. The rapacity of the Venetians in contending for what was not their own, it was asserted at





court, was the sole cause of the divisions of Christendom and the woes of Italy; the right of the Republic to Verona was at first doubted, and at last openly denied. If, retorted the ambassador, a hundred years uninterrupted possession is in these days of frequent change an insufficient title, the original right of Venice to the sovereignty of Verona is the most legitimate that can be set up. On the extinction of the line of her ancient lords the Scaligers, the inhabitants of their own accord (p. 311) raised the cry of St. Mark! and, though the Duke of Milan and the Marquis of Mantua were both in the field as candidates for the vacant sovereignty, they installed the Venetian Proveditor in the seat of government.

The frequent interviews between the ambassador and the King or his minister fill many pages, and give a picture of the manners and feeling of the day, such as hardly can be found elsewhere. All parties show great readiness and dexterity in the fence of words, but Henry is by no means less acute or less ingenious in reply than his accomplished minister.

The event belied the prognostics and the secret intelligence of both King and Cardinal. France did keep her faith with Venice. But the event which, perhaps beyond all others, contributed to the climax of the final act of the drama of the League of Cambray was the death of Ferdinand, which took place in February 1516. Charles succeeded, with new counsellors, altered position, and new designs. Without consulting those with whom, by common interests or by relationship, or by formal engagements, he was connected, he signed with Francis the treaty at Noyon, to which the confederates on each side were, by stipulation, at liberty to accede, and which in fact they were ultimately compelled to accept. The struggle was not closed at once, but Maximilian had no longer the support of





Spanish armies, and he gradually lost the supplies of English gold, which Henry was tired of furnishing to so improvident and rapacious an ally. Pages, however, are filled with the leagues and rumours of leagues which were called into being for the purpose of securing Verona to the Emperor, as a counterpoise to the power of France, but at last (p. 318) Verona was surrendered to the French in the year 1517, and ceded by the French to Venice; and thus in virtue of this treaty, which in fact closed the history of the League of Cambray, Venice re-entered into the possession of her disputed provinces and regained those limits which she retained till her final downfall at the close of the last century.

From this point the interest of the diplomatic correspondence of the present volume declines, so far at least as its interest depends on the political effects that it produces; but not so diminishes its intricacy or its activity. "Our masters are for ever plotting confederacies and deceptions, but without producing any result" (p. 377), was the remark of a confidential secretary of Wolsey's to Chieregato, the apostolic nuncio, the trusty ally whom Giustinian in his despatches cautiously designates only as "l'amico," and from whom, in fact, he derived the greater part of his secret information. Nor can it be said that in his assertion the secretary was guilty of much exaggeration. With untiring perseverance and with varying combinations leagues were formed and re-formed between the Pope, the Emperor, England, and Spain, for the real purpose (whatever might be the pretext) of checking the ambition of Francis. By elaborate and complicated stipulations each party hoped to gain his object with the least possible cost to himself, and to stimulate to the utmost the exertions of his allies. At p. 307 is an interesting account of the solemn ratification of one of these leagues





by Henry at St. Paul's; it is written by the apostolic nuncio for the amusement and information of the Marchioness of Mantua, and is communicated as highly important; but now it is interesting only as giving a striking picture of the manners and customs of the time. It describes in terms very remarkable as coming from a native of Italy, then the centre of civilization, the refinement and the wealth of England, and paints Henry in the brilliant colours in which he doubtless appeared to a papal nuncio, while he was yet unstained by cruelty and untainted by heterodoxy. But notwithstanding the imposing ceremonies of the ratification, this league ended, as such hollow alliances must end, and produced no result except occasionally drawing from Henry's coffers a scanty supply, which was grudgingly granted, and wastefully squandered.

Meantime the Venetian Republic, who saw in the preponderance of France the only safeguard for her newly recovered provinces against the implacable and persevering hostility of Maximilian, endeavoured by every art to cement the union between Henry and Francis.

The last pacification with Lewis had left a cause of future quarrel so obvious and so certain that the peace was scarcely considered as a reality by contemporary statesmen, and was in fact little better than a state of inert hostility. Tournay had been left in the hands of Henry, and its recovery was so necessary to soothe the wounded pride of Francis, and to maintain the integrity of his frontier, that unless this coveted fortress could be obtained as the prize of successful diplomacy, it must necessarily be the cause of a speedy rupture between the two crowns.

The negotiations for the peaceable cession of Tournay, and the rumours to which they give rise, fill a prominent part of the correspondence till August 1518, when the terms of the peace seem to be generally known and circulated.





All difficulties were ultimately got over by one of those undignified dynastic projects of marriage which were the favourite expedients employed by the statesmen of the middle ages, and which no experience of their futility could bring into discredit. The infant Princess Mary was to be betrothed to the childish Dauphin, and in the way of dower any concession might be granted without loss of dignity.

A letter in the Mantuan archives, without signature, but dated in October of this year, gives an account which the antiquary will find interesting of the fêtes given in London on occasion of these espousals. The King is said to have amused himself with throwing sugar-plums at his guests in a style which reminds the reader of the modern carnival, and which is not mentioned by any other chronicler of these courtly revels.

On August 5 Marco Minio writes from Rome that Cardinal Wolsey, who had received compliments of congratulation as the author of the peace from all quarters, has offered to give the Pope the unsubstantial credit of having effected it, in return for the substantial advantages of being named perpetual legate, and receiving the benefices of Cardinal Adrian. That Cardinal had been in high favour with Henry VII., and, though an Italian, had received from him the bishopric of Bath and Wells. He had been implicated in the conspiracy of Cardinal Petrucci to poison Pope Leo X., and on his consequent disgrace Henry VIII. had bestowed his see on Wolsey "in commendam." The present correspondence shows in detail Wolsey's rapacious conduct on this occasion, and fully justifies the description Queen Catherine gives of the darker shades of his character—

"One that by suggestion

"Ty'd all the kingdom; simony was fair play."

*Henry VIII.*, act iv., scene 2.





The account of his violent wrath, and the undignified manner in which he manifested it (p. 414), when the Signory ventured to intercede for Adrian, who had taken refuge at Venice, is very characteristic of the man and the times.

Among the many notices of ecclesiastical news which are given by Minio, the ambassador at the Papal court, it may amuse the reader to find (p. 455), that on September 4, 1518, the consecrated rose was sent to the Duke of Saxony, subsequently the patron of Luther, as the acknowledgment and reward of his staunch orthodoxy. It may be that the Pope wished to confirm an allegiance which he suspected to be wavering, and to create a merit by affecting to impute it; but be this as it may, it is certain that Luther himself, and probably the progress he had made in Germany, had attracted little attention at the Vatican, since we find a man so accurate as Minio, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, styling him a Dominican instead of an Augustine friar.

At page 383 and the following are given very minute and curious details of that extraordinary attack made on the 1st May, 1517, upon the lives and properties of all foreigners resident in London. Morality and religion furnished the fanatical pretext, but the real motive for the outrage was the jealousy excited by the superior skill of the foreign workmen. The outbreak was severely punished, though a great parade of clemency was made in pardoning a large body of criminals, who in fact were too numerous to be all sent to execution, even in those sanguinary days (pp. 385, 386). But the spirit which prompted this violence was not subdued. Some months later (p. 422), we find that in the midst of the complicated horrors of the plague and the sweating sickness, notwithstanding the terror the union of these two scourges inspired, or rather because, in





consequence of this terror, the arm of authority was somewhat relaxed, a fresh plot for the extermination of foreigners was discovered, but fortunately in time to prevent its execution.

Throughout the volume it is curious to observe how the pauses of diplomatic activity are filled up, and even the tissue of real negotiations is traversed, by proposals to unite the forces of Christendom against the common enemy, the Turk. The duty of arming against the Infidel was acknowledged by all the sovereigns of Europe; but the burthen of fulfilling it was shifted by each from his own shoulders to that of his neighbour. The Pope, when he had no prospect of aggrandisement for the Holy See, or wished to avert some storm which he saw hovering in the horizon, always became clamorous for a crusade. Henry's pious and excellent dispositions towards this holy enterprise are frequently reported, though when he is pressed on the subject it oozes out that the infidel lives a long way off, and does very little harm to him or his subjects. Wolsey, who was certainly no fanatic, generally retorts that there is a worse Turk than the Sultan in the heart of the Christian camp, a certain king who calls himself most Christian, and against whom it is more necessary for Christians to be on their guard than any infidel whatever.

Nevertheless confederations for purposes the most foreign to a religious crusade often set forth in their preambles the design of an attack upon the Sultan; and to Venice these professions, however abortive and insincere, proved a real stumbling block. On the whole line of her eastern frontier she touched the dominions of the Sultan; on him depended the security of her trade with the Levant, and it was a painful alternative to be excluded from a Christian league which promised security and strength, or to incur the dangers incident on being a party to a treaty the pre-





amble of which is filled with the most menacing, though perfectly meaningless, denunciations of the infidel ally of the Republic. Venice does not deny the service she owed to the Christian commonwealth. When real war is intended she will sacrifice her interests and rally round the standard of the cross, but until there is question of a reality she begs to remain uncompromised.\*

It is clear how much the civilization of Turkey had advanced, and how much more closely her sovereign was brought into contact with the other states of Europe, when we find by an entry dated 20th November, 1518, that the Venetian ambassador dared not be present at the ratification of one of these leagues, lest he should give umbrage to Sultan Selim; and in date of August, 1523, it will be found that one of the ministers of Sultan Solyman actually made enquiries of the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople relative to Martin Luther!

The topic which principally engaged the attention of statesmen during the year 1518 was the election of a King of the Romans, a dignity which Maximilian was most anxious to secure for his grandson King Charles of Spain, in order that he might be recognized as the next successor to the Empire. Nor was Maximilian's action prematurely taken. In the month of August it was disclosed that Francis of France aspired to the Imperial dignity, and the powers of Europe were warned that when, in the course of nature and indeed at no distant period, the reigning Emperor should be summoned from the scene on which he had played so distinguished a part, a struggle would arise which might shake the world of politics to its very foundation. The letters addressed to the Signory by Marco Minio, their ambassador at Rome, give most important par-

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\* Giustinian and Surian's letter of 21 July 1519.





particulars relative to the contest for the Imperial crown both before and after the death of Maximilian, which are comparatively unnoticed by historians and which will especially interest English readers, because they conclusively show that at Rome at least Henry VIII. was never even named as a candidate for the Imperial dignity. These papers, which contain no positive mention of England, should, according to the strict letter of my instructions be excluded from my Calendar, but after much anxious consideration they seemed to me to throw so great a light upon the political transactions of a period which, I learn from Mr. Bergenroth's most valuable and able preface to his last volume, is represented in the Archives of Simancas by a few isolated documents only, that I have undertaken the responsibility of inserting a limited number of extracts sufficient to put in issue the general historical value of the correspondence.

We learn from Minio that in the month of June 1518 Charles was actively canvassing for election as King of the Romans, and in material aid of his pretensions had despatched a considerable sum of money for distribution amongst the electors by Maximilian, who then openly advocated the pretensions of his elder grandson. But the electors were divided in opinion; some, according to the Cardinal de' Medici, Leo's Prime Minister, and subsequently his successor in the Papal chair as Clement VII., preferring the Archduke Ferdinand to his brother Charles of Spain, while the Archbishop of Mayence and the Count Palatine made no secret of their intention to ensure the success of Francis.

The Diet assembled at Augsburg on the 10th of August, and was prorogued on the 10th of September until Martinmas without coming to any decision. After the dispersion of the diet the canvass continued to be actively prosecuted,





and, as usual in all contested elections, the news received was most contradictory. On the 8th of September the Pope was advised by his nuncio that the prospects of Charles were on the decline, but a week later letters direct from Augsburg represented him as having secured four votes, with confident expectations of obtaining further support. Bribery, unchecked by any fear of exposure, was conducted on a wholesale scale, and had produced important results. Three votes at least had been corruptly gained for Spain: Brandenburg, by the hand of the Infanta Catherine, and a dower of 300,000 florins for one of his sons; the Archbishop of Mayence (Brandenburg's brother), by church benefices, yielding an annual revenue of some 8,000 to 10,000 ducats; and the Count Palatine by the promised restitution of certain territory, of which he had been legally deprived by the Emperor. The Spanish party were confidently persuaded that these three votes, combined with the influence of the Archbishop of Cologne, who from the first had been Maximilian's firm adherent, would win the day for them. Towards the close of September the Pope, under strong injunctions to secrecy, told Minio at Viterbo that, 60,000 ducats having been actually paid to the Count Palatine, Charles had four votes certain, and was sure of success. On the 29th of October we learn upon the same authority that Charles had five conditional promises, and that his sole difficulty existed in his capacity to pay the enormous sums demanded by this limited constituency before they would exercise their franchise in his favour. Early in November the money seems to have been forthcoming, for on the 5th of that month the Cardinal de' Medici stated to Minio that five electors had signed and sealed a formal document pledging themselves to elect the Catholic King, and that their decision would be promul-

and, as usual in all contested elections, the news received was most contradictory. On the 25th of September the Pope was advised by his nuncio that the prospects of Charles were on the decline, but a week later letters direct from Augsburg represented him as having secured four votes, with constant expectations of obtaining further support. His party, unshaken by any fear of exposure, was conducted on a wholesale scale, and had produced important results. Three votes at least had been corruptly gained for Spain; Brandenburg, by the hand of the Infant's Chamberlain, and a donor of 300,000 florins for one of his sons; the Archbishop of Mayence (Brandenburg's brother), by church benefices, yielding an annual revenue of some 8,000 to 10,000 ducats; and the Count Palatine by the promised restitution of certain territory, of which he had been legally deprived by the Emperor. The Spanish party were confidently persuaded that these three votes, combined with the influence of the Archbishop of Cologne, who from the first had been Maximilian's firm adherent, would win the day for them. Towards the close of September the Pope, under strong injunctive pressure, told Mainz at Vienna that 60,000 ducats having been actually paid to the Count Palatine, Charles had lost votes certain, and was sure of success. On the 20th of October we learn upon the same authority that Charles had five conditional promises, and that his sole difficulty existed in his capacity to pay the enormous sums demanded by the limited constituency before they would exercise their franchise in his favour. Early in November the money seems to have been paid, and on the 1st of that month the Cardinal Mediceo sent to Mainz that five electors had signed and sealed a formal document pledging themselves to elect the Catholic King, and that their decision would be pre-



gated at the next Diet. Nor did the precautions of the Spanish party end here. Maximilian had never been crowned, and though *de facto* Emperor, he was *de jure* only King of the Romans. His coronation and confirmation by the Pope were therefore necessary to complete his legal title, and to leave the electors at full liberty to name a successor to the lesser dignity. The tenure by which Charles held the kingdom of Naples presented a further diplomatic difficulty to his election, for a clause in the patent of Pope Julius under which he had been invested, expressly provided that no King of the Romans should hold Naples. The repeal of this clause, and the urgent applications addressed by both Maximilian and Charles to the Pope to dispense with the coronation of the former at Rome, and to send the crown\* to Germany for a similar purpose, led during two months to long and wearisome negotiations. The "Naples question" seems never to have been settled, but after endless delay the Pope finally refused to part with the crown, alleging that such a course would be incompatible with the dignity of the Apostolic See, and would establish a dangerous precedent. Minio gives a curious illustration of the bitter feeling that prevailed between the parties to the transaction. On the 15th December he narrates verbatim a petulant sally of the Pope, "That next time the Em-

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\* The crown which Leo X. thus refused to send to Maximilian was the one with which Leo III. crowned Charlemagne Emperor in St. Peter's Church at Rome on Christmas Day 800. The Imperial crowns were three in number, and their linings seem to have been plated with three different metals, namely gold, silver, and iron. The gold crown was preserved at Rome, the silver crown at Nuremburg, and the iron crown at Monza. I do not know how the gold crown escaped the sacks of Rome in 1526-27, but it is supposed to have been used by Clement VII. when he crowned Charles V. at Bologna, on the 24th February 1530.

In 1558, Paul IV. refused to concede the Imperial title to Ferdinand I., and thenceforth the Emperors dispensed with the Papal confirmation of their dignity.





“peror would ask him for his breeches,” and a few days later he records a remark of the Spanish ambassador, uttered no doubt in a tone of deep resentment, “That the day might come when the Court of Rome would fain send the crown to the Emperor, and yet be powerless to do so.” The reader need hardly be reminded that this prophecy was fulfilled almost to the letter by the capture and sack of Rome in 1527. The impediments thus raised at every turn to Charles’s progress, in no way relaxed his efforts to gain the goodwill of the Pope, and to make the election safe. On the 11th January 1519, the Spanish ambassador, to the consternation of the French diplomatic officials, proposed a Spanish bride of the blood royal, with a territory in Naples of the annual value of 12,000 ducats, to the Pope for his illegitimate nephew Ippolito, and at the same time Charles despatched a sum of money, variously estimated from 250,000 to 400,000 ducats, to Germany, strictly for election purposes; and no doubt was then entertained at Rome, but that his rival would be outbid.

The death of Maximilian, which took place on the 27th of January, brought all these intrigues to an abrupt conclusion. The Imperial throne was vacant! Charles and Francis would have now to contend, not for an empty title, but for the great political prize of the age. This was indeed a subject which might fill the least timid politician with anxious forebodings. Charles, who in many ways possessed the strongest claims, and also the most efficacious means of enforcing them, added the succession of the House of Austria to his patrimonial dominions; and to the vast inheritance which he had obtained from Ferdinand the Catholic. His personal character seems at this period to have been little known; perhaps it was hardly developed. It was variously reported, but Cardinal Campeggio seems





to have expressed the prevalent opinion when he told the Venetian ambassador (p. 544) that the youthful sovereign (he was now only 19 years of age) was feeble in constitution and in mind, and was more fit to be governed than to govern. This, however, was but a weak guarantee against the abuse of power so vast. For centuries the mysterious and vague pretensions of the empire had disturbed the peace of Europe; what might not be apprehended if this shadowy Colossus were suddenly transformed into a real substantial giant, grasping three solid and weighty sceptres? The Pope, in his consternation at the prospect, exclaimed that Charles' election was impossible! He tried to persuade himself it would be illegal (p. 504), but he had no valid reason to give against it, except the extremity of the danger to himself. "The frontier of Naples is less than 40 miles distant from Rome."

As a counterpoise to the power of Charles, the thoughts of many had turned to Francis, already his great rival in Italy,—warlike, ambitious, the sovereign of a territory more compact, though smaller, more submissive, more easily governed, and possessed of vast resources. But it needed no great foresight to perceive that the balance of power, restored by naming a Frenchman to the Imperial throne, would not be the equilibrium which produces rest. The rival sovereigns would only be brought into more frequent collision at more numerous points of contest, and the desolation caused by their discord would be spread over a much wider surface.

It was the wish of many that some German Prince might be found of sufficient weight and influence to place himself at the head of the Germanic body. But who could venture to brave the vengeance of both disappointed rivals?

It is clear that the Pope from the first desired the election of an independent candidate, but so early as the 8th of





February he came to the conclusion that money must carry the day, and remarked to Minio with great point "that the crown would be put up to auction and knocked down to the highest bidder." Being of this mind for nearly two months, he abstained from openly favouring either of the declared candidates, though he did not disguise his opinion that of the two the election of Francis would be the lesser evil. Towards the latter end of March his views underwent a change. He showed an undisguised preference for Francis, declared Charles ineligible for the office, and went the length of sending Archbishop Orsini as Papal nuncio to Germany, specially to promote French interests. Charles complained in unmeasured terms of these proceedings, and henceforth, possibly as an escape from difficulties almost insurmountable, Leo recurred to his original policy, and did his utmost to put some other potentate in nomination.

For an elaborate and clear view of the corrupt practices which so extensively prevailed during this election and of the intrigues of which Rome was the centre, I refer the student to Minio's letters with great confidence. Here we have in graphic terms the most interesting details of the Pope's difficulties, his chronic vacillation and perplexity, his bias for France, his terror of Spain, and, finally, (p. 545, July 18, 1519,) his submission to the result, embodied in an answer to a charge of insincerity made by the French ambassador, on which occasion we read that contrary to his nature he flew into a violent passion, and said, "It is true I wrote latterly to my legate to offer no further opposition should he see matters going in favour of Spain, as it was no use knocking one's head against the wall, and possibly he may have slightly exceeded his instructions, but at any rate the French chance was hopeless. I can come to terms





“ with the Emperor as easily as I can spit (*cum una spudaza*), but I have ever the same care for the “ interests of others as for my own.”

Some experienced continental statesmen seem to have thought that the impending mischief might be avoided by keeping the Imperial power for a time in abeyance and placing a visionary sceptre in the hands of a sovereign too powerful to be overawed by Charles or Francis, and yet too distant and too little connected with continental interests to turn the pretensions of the Emperor to account. As early as March in this year, overtures were made to Henry (p. 502, March 7th,) to put himself in competition. He appears to have entertained the proposal seriously, and even his own courtiers expressed their opinion, that the electors only wanted to ascertain the extent of the English monarch's credulity and purse.

Henry himself freely and voluntarily promised his support to Francis. But little more than good wishes, or what is now called moral support, could have been intended by this phrase, unless, indeed, the violent rivalry between the candidates might, as was apprehended by many politicians, ultimately lead to hostilities, for neither Henry, nor the Swiss, nor others, who were free in their offers of support, could have expected to exert much influence on the electoral body. But, however little Henry's assistance may have meant, no one, not even the French ambassador, could believe it was sincerely offered to his rival of France; for, little as he might desire to aggrandize his already too powerful nephew, still less willingly would he have contributed to the exaltation of his ambitious neighbour. It was probably his increasing dread of the success of either, and the general wish, of which the echoes were doubtless brought him from all parts, with increasing zeal in proportion as they





were received with increasing avidity, that induced him at the eleventh hour to imagine he might seriously enter into the lists, and to send Richard Pace, of whose dexterity as a diplomatist this volume contains so many proofs, to watch the election, to throw what weight he could into the scale of the third candidate, or if none could be found, to suggest Henry himself. It is remarkable that Giustinian, with his many sources of information, never suspected Henry's candidature, nor could form a conjecture as to the object of Pace's mission. This seems to prove satisfactorily that the project was suddenly conceived; had it been long entertained, the secret would not have been so jealously kept, nor would there have been any wish so to keep it. Even had Henry desired not to own a public candidature, he could not have avoided giving some hint of his intentions to those whose political position must make them favourable to his pretensions.

But scarcely had Henry resolved to make an effort to win the prize, when the result of the great competition was decided. On the 9th July, somewhat unexpectedly, the news of Charles's election was received by the ambassador of his aunt, the Lady Margaret, governess of the Netherlands. It is a proof how little welcome to the popular feeling of the day was the intelligence, that the Lord Mayor refused permission to the Spanish ambassador to light bonfires and illuminate to celebrate the event (p. 541). The ambassador of course made a formal complaint. The Court seems to have suddenly awoke to the consciousness that it was vastly rejoiced at the event, and the city authorities were menaced in language which would probably have been felt to be indecent, if it had not been tacitly understood by both parties, that nothing more was meant than a mere parley to be reported at Madrid. Subsequently, a *Te Deum* was ordered, at which all the





ambassadors were present except the French. Glad or sorry, it was necessary to sympathize with success, though many of the spectators were as little rejoiced at heart as the absentee ambassador of France.

Contemporaneously with the Imperial election, the Venetian ambassador, Giustinian, was purposing to quit the post he had so assiduously filled for four years. His often-repeated request, that a mission might not be turned into an exile, had at last been heard. Occasional missions were of course in their nature short, and though they had now become continuous, the idea of long residence at a foreign court was new, and Giustinian thought himself hardly treated when he was not relieved by the arrival of Surian, his successor, till the end of the fourth year. At last, at the end of June, he goes forth in procession to meet the new envoy, according to the custom of the age. Some time is spent in attending all the presentations and ceremonies which are needed to inaugurate his successor, and finally, on the 26th July, he dates the last of his long series of letters from our shores.

The materials of the present volume consist chiefly of the despatches written by the Venetian ambassadors at the English and other courts, and of the letters written by the State to its various agents. There are also the summaries of various letters, public and private, which were read in the College, or were in some way communicated to Marin Sanuto, and by him were entered in his diary. The despatches of Andrea Badoer, who arrived in England a few days before the death of Henry VII., no longer exist at the "Frari;" the brief summaries, therefore, which are given of them by Sanuto





are the only direct evidence of their contents which remains.

It not unfrequently happens that the despatches of the ambassadors have been lost; but the letter books, that is to say, the original drafts or the copies of the letters made for the ambassadors' own use have been preserved; of the genuiness and authenticity of these documents there never has been entertained the slightest doubt. In the first instance these letter books were kept among the muniments of the ambassador's own family; subsequently they have, for the most part, been transferred in various ways to the public collections of Venice especially St. Mark's Library, many have found their way to those of foreign countries, and not a few have passed into the hands of private individuals. The most important series of letters in this volume is extracted from the Letter Book of Sebastian Giustinian, who succeeded Badoer, as ambassador to Henry VIII., in the year 1515, and of whom we have just taken leave on his return to the Lagunes. It is preserved in St. Mark's Library, and contains every letter, in chronological order, written by him during his residence of four years at the English court. It was translated by me from the original Letter Book, and a selection of the correspondence thus translated was published by Messrs. Smith and Elder some years ago; but the entire series is so remarkable that the Master of the Rolls has thought fit to give instructions for calendaring the whole in its integrity and continuity.

I have also calendared at some length the MS. Book of Statutes given by the Senate to the captain of the Flanders galleys, Priuli, who arrived in England in May 1518. As a Maritime Mercantile Code it is not





less remarkable than the shipping laws of Lubeck, the rules of Olcron, and the ancient nautical regulations of Holland. The Wisby code is supposed to have been compiled at the end of the 14th or the beginning of the 15th century;\* the Priuli Statute Book quotes various regulations ordered by the Senate at different periods from the year 1323 to the year 1505. In the first volume of this work (p. 148, *et seq.*) I gave some extracts from an earlier Statute Book of the same description, but as Bartolomeo Minio, to whom it was consigned, failed to accomplish his voyage, having been waylaid and plundered by the Corsair Columbus, I have postponed the fuller account of these regulations till the date of the actual arrival in England of the captain for whose guidance they were enacted.

Both these Statute books are in my possession; nor am I aware of the existence of any similar book of regulations for the Flanders galleys in any collection, public or private.† I have also been fortunate enough to procure the original letter book of Marco Minio, ambassador at the court of Leo X. His despatches do not exist in the archives, nor am I acquainted with any other authentic extracts from them than those contained in Sanuto's "Diaries." I have given above my reasons for calendar-  
ing a portion of his correspondence in my present volume, and many more extracts will appear in the course of the work. My long residence in Venice has enabled me to

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\* See an article on the Hanseatic League, in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, vol. vii. p. 137, January 1831, by J. R. McCulloch.

† In the Correr Museum there exist the Statute books of Giacomo Marcello, captain of the *Alexandrian galleys*, 1457, and of Nicolò Muazzo, captain of the *Aigues-mortes galleys*, 1477-1478. In the Archives there is an imperfect Statute book, compiled for a captain of the *Aigues-mortes galleys*, probably Zaccaria Loredano, 1506.





obtain small portions of the MS. collections of the great houses of Venice, as from time to time they have been broken up and brought into the market. It forms part of my proposed plan to calendar all documents bearing on my subject which exist at Venice, either in public or private collections, nor can I suppose any apology is needed for inserting an interesting notice, because I happen to be the possessor of the MS. from which it is extracted.

The entries relating to public events are diversified, as we have already seen, by the accounts of ceremonies, fêtes, and receptions, and other matters illustrative of the manners of the day. Sanuto reports at length the letters of Fabris, a native of Treviso, who was attached to Badoer's embassy, and who often wrote detailed accounts of what he saw. It was he who witnessed the ceremony at St. Paul's when Henry received the sword and cap of maintenance which has been already mentioned, and I would more particularly refer to an account given by him of English manners and customs at p. 89. At p. 48 is recorded by the Venetian ambassador the death of the widow of Edward IV. the King's maternal grandmother, who died of plague in the summer of 1511, and thus sadly fulfilled the doom pronounced on the "Queen of sad mischance" by her still more unhappy rival Margaret of York (Richard III., act i. scene 3., and act iv. scene 4). The notice is curious, for the date differs from that usually assigned for her death by historians; but this is a point on which the ambassador, resident in England at the time, could scarcely be mistaken.

In a work like the present it cannot be expected that, by any amount of diligence and caution, every document can be discovered in time to be inserted in its exact chronological order. All that can be done is to give





place in an appendix to papers referring to an earlier period as soon as they come to light.

In the Appendix to the present Volume there will be found 28 original protests of bills from 1442 to 1479.

The protests which I inserted in the first Volume of the Calendar, and which I had found in the *political* archives, attracted the attention of the Councillor Pietro Bedendo, vice conservator of the *notarial* archives, and in consequence he caused a search to be made by his able "coadjutor" Signor Antonio Barachi, which produced 25 similar protests, while in the meantime my friend the Abate Nicoletti, procured for me two other documents of the same kind, belonging to the Cavalier de' Stefani; and a third was discovered in the political archives (in the month of February 1867,) amongst papers relating to the island of Candia.

These 28 notarial acts, giving 55 rates of exchange, serve to correct a note at p. lxxi. Preface to Vol. I., and enable me now to assert with greater accuracy, that from 1442 to 1512, the value of the Venetian ducat in London and at Venice, ranged between  $39\frac{3}{4}d.$  and  $56\frac{1}{2}d.$  Hitherto, ancient protests of bills of exchange have been displayed merely as commercial curiosities. The oldest document of the sort, to which allusion has been repeatedly made in print, is dated Genoa, 14th November 1384; it is a mere isolated fact, and but of little use for the history of trade or monetary negotiations. From the series of the 46 bills, of which the protests for nonpayment were sent from London to Venice, we obtain 90 rates of exchange,\* one on the day the bill was drawn at Venice, and another when protested in London. These data show that during the

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\* In *two* of the protests, the rate of exchange in London has been omitted.





70 years preceding 1512, the highest price paid in London for the Venetian ducat was  $52\frac{1}{2}d.$  (1477, 2nd April) and the lowest  $39\frac{3}{4}d.$  (1453, 4th December). In Venice during the same period, the highest price obtained for bills on London was  $56\frac{1}{2}d.$  per ducat (1477, 1st January); the lowest  $43d.$  (1447, 2nd April). I may add that in 1506, at Venice, the ducat passed current for 124 Venetian pennies or "*soldi*," \* which in England were called "*galley halfpence*;" and as the highest rate of exchange was  $56\frac{1}{2}d.$  it may be inferred that the English silver penny was acknowledged to be of higher standard than the Venetian halfpenny. That the student may be enabled to perceive at a glance the fluctuations in the relative value of pennies and ducats, I have made one single chronological list of the rates of exchange, derived from the protests both in the political and notarial archives, † as also from the three in possession of private individuals. Although in this there is some repetition it was unavoidable, owing to the recent date of the discovery made by the Counsellor Bedendo.

Besides the two protested bills communicated to me by the Cavalier Stefani, he also showed me an authentic draft of the oldest policy of maritime insurance with which I am acquainted. It is dated Venice, 9th October 1564. The insured vessel and cargo, then loading at Constantinople and bound for Venice, belonged to the Magnificoes Domenico Duodo Brothers and Co., and the underwriters, who were evidently directors of the company, were Lorenzo Bembo and Giacomo Ragazoni, ‡ on behalf of a *company* of

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\* See Sanuto in Romanin, vol. v. p. 496.

† See Appendix to the Preface, no. III.

‡ Ragazoni is sometimes supposed to have sat for the portrait of Antonio, Shakspeare's "*Merchant of Venice*." He had visited England,





15 insurers. What the full value of the ship and cargo may have been, is not stated. The company of 15 underwrote for only 2,000 ducats, the premium being 150 ducats. The vessel was lost, and there is a supplementary memorandum or continuation of the draft, recording payment made by the company (in the first half of the year 1564) of 1,910 ducats to the credit of Duodo and Company in the banks of Pisani and Correr. This insurance does not relate to England and will therefore have no place in the Calendar, but I trust the reader will not think this notice of it out of place. The phraseology is in accordance with that of English insurances of the same nature. The document ends with the pious aspiration, "*Che Iddio la salvi*," corresponding with the words, "and may God send the good ship safe home."

Beneath these words are the following :

" £200. *Laus Deo. A dì 9 Ottobrio, noi Lorenzo Bembo et Giacomo Ragazoni per la Compagnia di XV. assicuradori, assuremo de' £200 DE GROSSI per ducati cento e vinti, CHE IDDIO LA SALVI.*"

By entry No. 187 in the present Calendar, it will be seen that the premium in London for insurance on vessels trading between England and Candia in the year 1512, exceeded 10 per cent. The first law relating to

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and was very well known in his day. His name is inserted in all, I believe, biographical dictionaries.

The commentators tell us that Shakspeare borrowed his plot from the "*Pecorone*," by Ser Giovanni, an early Italian novelist. But it seems probable that he had seen some Venetian version of the story, as the names in his play are all Venetian, and quite different from those of Ser Giovanni's story. Selig, from which he seems to have corrupted his Shylock, is still a name to be found among the Jews.





insurance in England, was enacted in 1601, but it is said that insurance was in general use there in 1560.\*

In date of March 1504, I omitted to record a paragraph written by Sanuto in his diaries, concerning the Garter. In February 1503-4 Henry VII. created the Duke of Urbino a Knight of the Order, and sent him its Insignia by Sir Gilbert Talbot, Richard Bere, Abbot of Glastonbury, and Sir Robert Sherbourn, Dean of St. Paul's.

These three ambassadors went in the first place to tender obedience at Rome on the part of Henry VII. to the new Pope, Julius II., who, on the 20th March 1504, mentioned the compliment destined for his nephew to the Venetian ambassador, Antonio Giustinian, saying, "that they" (the envoys) "were conveying the Garter, namely, a cincture worn below the knee, *with gold union-joints* ('*con sparange d'oro*'), to give it to the Duke of Urbino, whose father was invested with it of yore, and it is a great honour to have it."

The precise meaning of the word "*sparange*" is rendered intelligible by the Mowbray achievement, on which the Garter encircles nine SS; those letters (the initials of Sarah of Salisbury) being in fact framed or JOINED to the inner edges of the cincture; whence it may be inferred, that between 1399 (the date of Mowbray's death) and 1504, the design of the Garter had undergone no change. The arrival of the three envoys at Rome, is mentioned by Burchard, date 12th May 1504.

At p. lxxxvi. Preface, the date of Wolsey's "large commission" to Cassalis, should be read Amiens not Amboise; and at p. cxlv., where the agent employed

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\* Whilst these pages were yet unpublished, I received Mr. Manley Hopkins' valuable contribution to the commercial History of England, entitled, "A Manual of Marine Insurance," to which the reader desiring information on this important subject is referred.





by Henry VIII., by name Dalle Arme, is stated by me to have been a Venetian, I was guilty of an error, as the historian Andrea Morosini (Vol. ii. p. 169), distinctly styles him a Bolognese, and the assertion is confirmed in the Criminal Register, Council of X., 26th August 1545. I confounded the name with one somewhat similar, which is entered in the Libro d'oro.

In date 14th April 1495, a despatch from the Senate to the Venetian ambassador in Rome has been omitted. It announced a threat from France to thwart the "Holy League," by a confederacy between Charles VIII., England, Hungary, and Scotland. So far as relates to England, the failure of the French project is shown by the entry, No. 712, purporting that Henry VII. joined the Pope, Spain, and Venice, his adhesion being formally accepted at Rome on the 18th July 1496, by the same Robert Sherbourn, who, eight years later, conveyed the Garter to the Duke of Urbino.

In the table of English diplomatic agents accredited to the Republic (p. cxliv.), the name of Stephen Gardyner should have been inserted. He arrived at Venice from Viterbo on the evening of the 23rd of June, 1528, as recorded in the diaries of Sanuto, who adds, that he was lodged with the ambassador in ordinary, the prothonotary Cassalis, in the Dandolo Palace, which is now an inn, entitled "Albergo Reale." In Vol. VII. State Papers, Part V. p. 90, in a letter from Clerk and Tayler to Wolsey, it is seen that Gardyner was still at Venice on the 8th July, "sor syke in a fluxe, and all his "servantes, and that wythin 2 days he shold depart from "thens homwardis." The duration of his residence at Venice did not therefore exceed three weeks; Sanuto adds that, according to the letters of Gasparo Contarini, Gardyner was charged to demand the surrender by the Signory to the Pope of Ravenna and Cervia.





Gasparo Contarini resided as ambassador with Clement VII. from June 1528 until November 1529; his original letter book, containing copies of the despatches written by him on this mission, is preserved in St. Mark's Library, and a paragraph in one of them warrants the supposition that the 40 letters on parchment addressed by English Sovereigns to various Popes (mentioned at p. lxxxvii. Preface) formed part of the spoil taken at the sack of Rome, owing to which catastrophe they passed from the Vatican to the Signory's "*Secreta*."

The sentence on which my conjecture is based occurs in despatch No. 189, dated Rome, 6th July 1529, as follows:—

"There have come into my hands some bulls of Pope Leo's, which I thought might be of use to your Serenity, and to your noblemen and subjects. *They were taken at the sack of Rome; I purchased them for a crown and half, and send them to your Highness accordingly.*"

Finally, with regard to the list of English consuls, at p. clii. (Preface) I must mention that I have sought in vain for any official notice of the diplomatic functions of Sir Robert Brown, who, in Burke's extinct and dormant Baronetcies (pp. 86, 87) is stated to have been "his Majesty's resident in Venice." In April 1723, the Venetian Board of Trade informed the Senate that the consul *Neil Brown*, was suspected of defrauding the Customs; and that to facilitate the shipment of goods for Constantinople, he had lent his name to "*Robert Brown, another English merchant in Venice.*" The precise words are, that the Export Permit, No. 690, had been conceded, "*non già nel nome di Neil Brown, Console, ma bensì di Roberto Brown altro mercante della sua nazione.*"

I nevertheless inferred that the merchant and the consul were in fact identical; but according to Burke, Sir Robert Brown died on the 5th October 1760, and I have





lately discovered by a register in the Archives, " Necrologio, No. 137," that the English consul, Neil Brown, died in the parish of Sta. Fosca, at Venice, on the 29th of June 1740, aged 75 years.

In 1723 Neil Brown had a dispute with the Venetian Board of Trade about his shipments for Constantinople; and in 1737 he took his revenge on the Republic by writing an account to England of the manner in which the Pretender had been received at Venice, and thus caused George II. to dismiss the Signory's resident Businello from his court.\*

Of Robert Brown, the only notice hitherto discoverable at the Archives, is that he resided as a merchant at Venice in April 1723.

With regard to the list of Venetian consuls in London, I have discovered, by a document in the " Filza Senato Terra, No. 38," that the consul Giovanni Pesaro, to whom Queen Elizabeth gave a letter of recommendation in 1570, was first accredited to her court in March 1563; but I have been unable to find any traces of his correspondence. He is remarkable for having presented formal credentials, a distinction which the State does not seem to have conferred on commercial agents, either before or since the 5th of March 1563.

I think it proper in this place to state that I have

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\* Since this paragraph was printed, I have read in a despatch from the Venetian resident Businello, dated Calais, 8 July 1737, that Sir Robert Brown in London aggravated the complaints sent from Venice to the English Government by the consul Neil Brown. This corroborates my assertion in the text, that the baronet and the consul were *two distinct and separate persons*. Businello complains that, after having made his fortune by trade in Venice, Sir Robert Brown, Bart., " mal corrispondeva alle " tante cortesie ricevute, ed ha superata la stessa ingratitudine della " natione." Businello was very angry with the Duke of Newcastle for making him quit England at 48 hours' notice.





obtained some documentary evidence which goes far to prove that an English diplomatic agent visited Venice during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In Birch's Memoirs of the Queen's reign, from 1581 until her death (London 1751), one Dr. Hawkyns is said to have arrived at Venice on the 22nd Feb. 1596 on a mission from the Earl of Essex. On the 19th April in that year Hawkyns wrote to Mr. Bacon that he had "on that day been before the Capi del Consiglio de' Dieci, who asked many things touching Her Majesty's views and good intentions towards their State."

Birch has also printed many letters from Hawkyns, and in the last but one of the series, dated 1/11 April 1597, I find a paragraph in which Hawkyns recommends "Almero" (*sic*) Zani, senator of great authority in Venice, who he desired might be conceal'd from everybody but the Queen and the Earl of Essex, and who had been informed that her Majesty had a most sovereign remedy against the *renella* or Stone, which Zani wanted to be partaker of." I was unable to discover any record of Hawkyns or of his above mentioned audience in April 1596, but on examining the "*Parti Secrete* Cons<sup>o</sup> X<sup>ci</sup>," I found extracts to the effect that on the 15th April 1597, in consequence of a communication made to that tribunal by *Almero Zane* he was desired to ascertain particulars concerning the individual who had presented himself as the agent of the Queen of England, and that Zane reported the agent to have said that "her Majesty wished to discuss two points, the one, touching her 'conversion' (*la conversion che desidera far essa Regina*); and the other with regard to the choice of her successor, for the establishment of the kingdom; she being desirous of taking the opinion and counsel of the most serene Republic, which she loves and esteems





"greatly and that she would subsequently write to Rome to the Pope, according to the advice received." On the morrow, the 16th April 1597, Almoró Zane again appeared before the Chiefs of the Ten, and told them that he had seen the agent a second time, and that the latter represented himself as "Henry Hawkyns, an Englishman." It may be reasonably assumed that Dr. Hawkyns and Henry Hawkyns are one and the same person.

Amongst the "letter-books" in St. Mark's Library, which I had not perused when the first volume of the Venetian Calendar was printed, is one containing the correspondence of Francesco Cornaro, who represented the Signory at the Court of Ferdinand the Catholic, from February 1508 until May 1509. Cornaro alludes to various demands made by him of the King, for safeconducts for the Flanders galleys; and in date of Burgos, May 29, 1508, he writes that the English secretary resident at the Court of Spain told him two ambassadors were expected in England, one from the Emperor, the other from the Prince Don Carlos and the Archduchess Margaret, for the purpose of arranging the marriage of the Prince and the Princess Mary.

The ambassador also gives particulars hitherto (I believe) unpublished, concerning the navigator who gave his name to America, and these are no less interesting than the early notices of Christopher Columbus, and of John and Sebastian Cabot. They all relate to regions in whose civilization England has had a great share.

No account exists of any voyages performed by Amerigo Vespucci, after the 22nd May 1507. On the authority of Lopes de Pintho, Bandini supposes the death of Vespucci to have taken place in 1516, whereas Fleury assigns the date of 1508 to that event. The following brief extracts from Cornaro's despatches, show that Vespucci was certainly alive at Burgos on the 16th July 1508.





"1508, June 19, Burgos.

"It is moreover said that his Majesty here has given some 19,000 ducats to Messer Almerico and Juan the Biscayan [*De la Cosa*] who are going at his cost to take possession of the recently discovered islands, which they call Terra Ferma."

"1508, July 16, Burgos.

"Messer Almerico the Florentine, the discoverer of the islands, has told me that five days ago news came from Seville of the arrival there of a ship with gold to the amount of 50,000 ducats, and a great quantity of pearls, of which produce his Majesty has received the tenth, besides duties at the rate of 7 per cent.

"The passengers by this ship say that the discovery of gold augments constantly.

"Almerico has had 13,000 ducats derived from the exports of these islands, and is going to procure good ships in Biscay, all of which by reason of the . . . . ., he means to sheathe with lead (*vol fare investire de piombo*), and will make the western passage in quest of the territories which the Portuguese discover by navigating eastward, and he will infallibly depart next March."

The despatches of Cornaro \* contain ample details of the quarrel of the Marquis de Priego with the Spanish Court, his outrageous conduct, and the punishment with which it was visited. It was probably the irritation caused by this indignity that induced the uncle of the delinquent, the Great Captain, Gonsalvo of Cordova, to reveal the secret of the league of Cambrai to the Venetian ambassador early in 1509, and to make overtures for transferring his allegiance and his services from Ferdinand to Venice. This story is only indirectly connected with English annals. At p. 234 of the present volume is recorded the arrival in London, in March 1515, of the Bishop of Trinopoli, Bernard de Mesa, an ambassador from Spain, and through him Henry conveyed a caution to his father-in-law against Gonsalvo, of whose character and intentions

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\* The MS. volume in St. Mark's Library, Class VII., Cod. MCVIII., contains copies of the despatches written by Francesco Cornaro, Venetian ambassador in Spain, from February 1508, to June 1509.





he entertained the strongest suspicions, inasmuch as he himself had him once received overtures from him. Mr. Prescott, in telling this story,\* expresses his wish to see the reputation of the Great Captain cleared from such imputations, and hints his doubts of the King's veracity. Gonsalvo's offers on this occasion to Venice make it highly probable that Henry told nothing but the truth, and that the rumour of similar overtures made to Lewis XII. and Francis were not without foundation. For this reason, I venture to give the despatches at full length in an appendix. They are not so directly connected with England that I could introduce them into the Calendar, but they have been only partially quoted by Romanin, in his history of Venice; they are eminently curious in themselves, and they help to clear up a doubtful point in history. The elucidation of individual character is one of the purposes for which the investigation of original records is most useful. It no doubt must often produce results which offend our prejudices and pain our partialities. But we must show our candour rather by charitably allowing for the inconsistency and the weakness of human nature, and for the different feelings and standard of a past age, than by shutting our eyes to the evidence of contemporary records.

In these preliminary remarks which I have prefixed to the second volume of the Calendar of Venetian State Papers I have carefully avoided the ground which was traversed by the general preface to the whole work, and in the brief notice I have given of the contents I have endeavoured simply to apprise the reader what portions of history he will find illustrated by the corre-

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\* Ferdinand and Isabella, vol. ii. p. 368. London, 1834.





spondence which I have calendared in the following pages.

I cannot refrain from expressing my gratification (and I trust my English readers will not refuse me their sympathy) at the indulgent kindness with which my first volume has been received in this the country of my adoption. To Professor Rinaldo Fulin and to Mons. Victor Cérésolo I feel great obligation for the labour they have bestowed on putting the preface into an Italian dress; and I congratulate myself on having fallen into the hands of such able interpreters, who have only given clearness and point to my meaning in transferring it to a foreign tongue.\* The preliminary note by Count Agostino Sagredo expresses in terms highly gratifying to the English reader his appreciation of the motives which induced the Master of the Rolls to suggest to Her Majesty's Government the compilation of calendars of Venetian State Papers relating to English affairs.

From the Director of the Archives, Count Dandolo, as also from the Provisional "Aggiunto," Signor Luigi Pasini, from the Librarian, Vice-librarian, and "Aggiunto" of St. Mark's Library, I have received the same kind and courteous assistance, for which I have expressed my gratitude in the preface to the first volume, and I

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\* Both these writers have proved their thorough acquaintance with the Venetian Archives, as well as with other sources of historical information by various miscellaneous works. I may mention specially Professor Fulin's recent notices of Dantesque MSS. in St. Mark's Library, and of State Papers at Florence. The English reader will be interested by his edition of Sebastian Giustinian's Report of England, enriched with valuable notes, one of which records a passage in the life of Admiral Bonnivet, unknown to his biographer Brantôme. M. Cérésolo's Calendar of the Republic's Registers and Files, and of the Diaries of Marin Sanuto, in illustration of the relations between the Signory and the Swiss Cantons, gives the most exact account of the treaties and conventions between the two states.





have now the pleasure to repeat my acknowledgments. Nor can I omit again to record my sense of the attention, correctness, and patient research displayed for many years by Luigi Guadagnin, whose care in transcribing and collating Venetian manuscripts relating to English history has greatly facilitated the progress of the Calendar.

To Count Dandolo I am indebted for a mark of confidence so flattering, that I feel bound to record my gratitude, and indeed a public acknowledgment is the more necessary, inasmuch as I feel that the compliment was not so much paid to myself personally, as to the Government by whom I am employed.

The Deputy-Keeper of the Record Office, in his report presented in November 1865, recommended that photographs of the Michiel cipher should be sent to England. The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury having sanctioned his proposal on the 13th June 1866, I lost no time in communicating it to the proper authorities here. On the 23rd Count Dandolo consigned to me the whole of the Michiel correspondence, for the purpose of procuring photographs of the ciphered portions, which were accordingly executed by the Signor Carlo Ponti, well known as an optician and the most expert of photographers. The whole work was completed in the month of August, and in September the photographs were received in England. It is a great satisfaction to me to hear that they have been highly approved of by Lord Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, and that his Lordship has directed a set to be presented to Count Dandolo, as a trifling acknowledgment of his courtesy and liberality.

The subject of cipher is so interesting, and has attracted so much attention lately, that I venture to add in an Appendix to this preface such notices as I have been able to collect in the Archives of the history of





cipher in Italy, and especially Venice. There the reader will find a facsimile of the cipher of 1529. I have also obtained permission to add a lithographed copy of an important despatch in cipher dated in 1654, with its decipher.

I cannot conclude without expressing my acknowledgments to Mr. R. E. G. Kirk, one of the transcribers of the Record Office, for very valuable assistance in passing these sheets through the press. By such aid the labour which is inevitably occasioned by my residence in a foreign country while the work is printed in London, and the consequent delays in the publication, have been greatly abridged, and my best thanks are due for the assiduity and zeal he has displayed.

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## POSTSCRIPT.

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DEATH has deprived me of kind friends and advisers whilst the foregoing pages were passing through the press; and of these losses—to me irreparable—it is my painful duty to record that of the late Director of the Venetian Archives.

Count Girolamo Antonio Dandolo, the last male heir of his illustrious house, died at Venice on the 15th March 1867.

Ever since its commencement he did everything in his power to aid the compilation of the Venetian Calendar, and the facilities afforded by him rendered it less defective than it otherwise would have been.

I have already made especial mention of the permission to photograph the ciphered passages in the Michiel correspondence, and need only add, that his courtesy on that occasion was in accordance with the treatment which I invariably received from him, whether my demands were made on behalf of the Master of the Rolls, or of myself individually.

Count Dandolo's countrymen render due justice to his many excellent qualities, and students of all nations have reason to regret the demise of a personage who understood the value of





the materials committed to his charge, and wished them to be accessible to everybody, both for the honour of Venice and for the diffusion of historical truth, apart from political or national prejudices; and he always reprobated invidious jealousy of any sort.

I have stated in the preface to the first volume of this work (p. x), that the fourth Doge of his house—the friend of Petrarch—showed great solicitude for the safe custody of Venetian State Papers; and, true to his descent, their late Keeper watched over them with equal care, after a lapse of four centuries and a half. Nor—in conclusion—will I omit to add, that his penultimate work, printed in November 1866, concerned the removal of the “*Pacta*” and “*Commemoriali*,” the first registry of which acts has already been assigned by me to the reign of his ancestor, the Doge Andrea.

The two Dandolos had at heart the memory of the departed; they in their turn are entitled to our gratitude; and be their portion “Christian peace.”

Count Dandolo has been succeeded by the Cav<sup>re</sup> Tommaso Gar, from whom all students can promise themselves such information as foreshadowed by his researches at Vienna, Florence, Padua, Trent, and Naples; and he has already shown himself no less liberal in communicating the historical treasures now committed to his charge, than careful to preserve them.

Venice, 31st March 1867.

John Maria  
Maurice, with  
of the Great  
Captain.  
Letter from her  
concerning the  
League of  
Cambrai, dated  
Genoa, 29  
January 1509.





## APPENDIX I.

### PAPERS RELATING TO GONSALVO OF CORDOVA.\*

The first mention of Gonsalvo's offer to assist the Signory against the Leaguers of Cambray, is made by Francesco Cornaro, as follows :

" To the CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN.

" Valladolid, February 17, 1509.

" Most Excellent Lords,

" A few days ago, after the King's departure from this city for Burgos, the Great Captain sent to me one Antonio Spinola,† a Genoese, who was a condottiero in his service in the kingdom of Naples, in my opinion a most agreeable person ; and on behalf of his Lordship he condoled with me on this league, which is said to have been formed to the detriment of the State, acquainting me that the Great Captain wanted to speak to me, and would that I should go the next morning to mass at *La Merced*, a church not much frequented, at the extremity of the town. My reply to Spinola purported that first of all I thanked the Great Captain, adding that I could not bring myself to believe that this news was either true or reasonable, as none of the Christian powers had cause to attack the State. I also said I would gladly go to the appointed spot, where on the following morning I met his Lordship, who after the usual compliments, said,—

" ' I will not stay long with you, to avoid rendering any one suspicious. Any message which you receive from me through Francesco [Spinola], consider as uttered with my own lips.'

" Subsequently, this evening, he sent Spinola to me in his name, with a newsletter, which is the copy or summary of a letter received by him [the Great Captain] from his wife, now resident at Genoa, of the following tenor :

" ' The coming of the King of France into Italy is certain, and he himself has written accordingly to the governor of this city [Genoa], that he shall be in Milan at Easter, and will have an interview with

Doña Maria Manrique, wife of the Great Captain.  
Letter from her concerning the League of Cambrai, dated Genoa, 29 January 1509.

\* See p. lvi.

† Query, ancestor of Ambrose Spinola, who was thus, by descent, a soldier of a good school, and destined to serve Spain.





the Pope and the Emperor at Bologna, and that the Queen of France is coming hither. The King has demanded of this city for the undertaking four . . . . \* [galleys?], and two others at his own cost. The town in reply promised him this, and more.

“ ‘The war has not yet been proclaimed. According to public report it is against the Venetians, and signs of their fate begin to be visible.

“ ‘Throughout the duchy of Milan, the exportation of victuals and horses is prohibited; they say that the King of France is bringing a great amount of troops with him, namely, 2,500 men-at-arms, and 20,000 infantry. They say that the Duke of Guelders is captain of the infantry, and that Mons. de la Trimouille will be commander-in-chief.

“ ‘It is said that the Spanish fleet will come here to Genoa, and also that his Majesty will come to join these other potentates; and this is current amongst the French.

“ ‘It is said in many quarters that your Lordship [Gonsalvo of Cordova] will assuredly come into Italy. This your Lordship must know best; here all say for certain that your Lordship is coming with his Majesty.

“ ‘To-day, which is the 29th of January, another courier has arrived from the King of France, hastening greatly the . . . . \* [outfit of the galleys]. He chooses them to be six at least, and desires the Genoese, if they have merchandise or anything else in the Venetian territories, to get it away in time.

“ ‘They say that the Duke of Savoy is raising many troops, to take the kingdom of Cyprus, which belongs to him.

“ ‘That the King of France has written to Milan acquainting them with his coming, and with the amount of his forces, and that he means to take all the possessions of the duchy of Milan now held by the Venetians, and that the Milanese are to let him know with what amount of troops they can accommodate him. They replied that at their own cost they would recover all the towns of the duchy.

“ Thus far copy of the above-mentioned newsletter. Spinola told me moreover, that by way of Flanders the Great Captain is informed that in the conference at Cambrai, the Signory's territory was partitioned, giving to the Emperor the Friuli, Treviso, Padua, and Verona, and all the rest of Lombardy to the King of France, who was to pay the Emperor 100,000 ducats on account of Brescia, about which there was a dispute between them. The Pope was to have the Romagna; the Duke of Ferrara, the Polesine, for a certain sum of money; and the Marquis of Mantua, Peschiera

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\* Blank in MS.





and other places which belonged to his ancestors, he in like manner paying for them.

Gonsalvo's  
offer of his  
own services.

"In the next place Spinola told me on behalf of his Excellency to write to the Signory that he offered himself and all his forces and influence (*valor suo*), to the State for whatever might occur (*in omnem eventum*), specifying to me the troops at his disposal in the kingdom of Naples, the fortresses adjoining the Republic's territory (*in Puglia*), the popularity enjoyed by him in Naples and in Spain, and the dissatisfaction caused him by the King through the injuries received in the person of his nephew, without the slightest regard for the Great Captain himself, who also resents the small reward received for his exertions in obtaining the kingdom of Naples; and, in conclusion, Spinola said that his Lordship wished for a speedy reply.

"On hearing this, I thought fit to allude to the good understanding and friendship subsisting between the State and the King of Spain, and I said I could not bring myself to believe in such great discourtesy on the part of the Christian powers as that now narrated to me, but that to oblige Don Gonsalvo, whom I thanked for his goodwill and desire to benefit your Excellencies, I would write you the whole, cautiously and speedily, as Spinola requested me to do in his own name, and that of the Great Captain."

To this letter the Chiefs of the Ten replied on the 17th of March 1509.

"To our Ambassador in Spain.

"We have been long expecting letters from you, and attribute the delay to their having miscarried, especially those sent by way of France. On the day before yesterday, we received your despatches of the 27th January and 17th February. \* \* \*

"*Inter cetera*, you acquaint us by your said letters with the offer of that 'friend' therein mentioned; and with our Council of Ten and Junta, we charge you to take an opportunity, and in the most cautious and secret manner possible, so as not to cause suspicion to the King, inform the 'friend' in our name, that it was most agreeable to us to learn the disposition of his Lordship, whom we have always loved and greatly esteemed, by reason of his rare abilities and endowments, endeavouring to convince him of our goodwill and good opinion of him. We employ these general terms, because we really cannot persuade ourselves that the proceedings of his Catholic Majesty towards us can be otherwise than loving, and in accordance with good friendship, both because his Highness has no cause to act differently, nor would it be for his interest to do so, as any mischief and detriment incurred by the State would be immediately followed by that of Spain. We there-





fore cannot bring ourselves to believe many things which are said and disseminated about his Majesty's hostility towards us, as they are contrary to all reason. Should you nevertheless have proof of his intention to attack us, and if he dismiss you, thus leaving no doubt of his enmity, in that case, your language to the above mentioned 'friend' will be more free and forcible (*efficace*); nay, you will come with him to particulars, endeavouring to ascertain his full intention in detail, and arranging with him the mode whereby the negotiation may be continued so as to bring it to a good end; but above all, we repeat that you must proceed with such caution and extreme secrecy as not to produce an effect contrary to our desire and to our need.

"Ayes, 25. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 1."

Cornaro replied to the Chiefs from Valladolid, as follows, on the 22nd of April:—

"I answered 'the friend' in conformity with the letter of your Excellencies dated 17th of March. I met him in the church of S. Francesco. After thanking your Excellencies, his Lordship said, *'The Signory is very slow in her resolves; it might come to pass that when she wishes to act, the opportunity will be lost. When you write, say that I am the State's most affectionate servant.'*"

"In the course of conversation, he said to me that the King of Spain had joined the league by force and unwillingly, but that he could not do otherwise; and that in his (the Great Captain's) opinion his Majesty would not declare against the league without some manifest gain to himself, or [advantageous] agreement; to which I did not think fit to make him any reply."

After this Cornaro ended his correspondence with the Chiefs of the Ten concerning Gonsalvo of Cordova, by a letter of the following tenor, dated Valladolid, the 1st of May 1509:—

"After my dismissal by the King, as mentioned in the public letter, in execution of the commands contained in your Excellencies' missive of the 17th March, I had it intimated to 'the friend' that, should he not have changed his mind, I was charged to let him know something more than I had told him on former occasions concerning the will of your Excellencies, and to learn his intention.

"He therefore took an opportunity this morning, and had a long conversation with me at San Francesco, in a remote place, and having heard that your Excellencies were willing to continue the negotiation, he said to me:—

"*I give you notice that I have always been the Signory's affectionate servant, and have been very ill recompensed by his*





*Majesty here, for after doing for his Highness what is known to the whole world, I have not been rewarded; nor has he kept any of the promises made me. Nay, without any regard for me, he has acted against my kindred [the Marquis of Priego] in the form with which you are well acquainted. Should life be spared me, what remains of it shall be passed in the service of the Signory, because I know how grateful she is to her good servants. If the Signory chooses to accept me, I offer her good faith, and to place in her hands all my fortresses and places in the kingdom of Naples; namely, in Calabria, Gerace, and Rocca-forte on the coast to the eastward; the towns of S. Georgio and Gioia with their castles, on the western coast. In the 'Terra del Lavoro,' the following towns and castles: Pietra Molina, a strong town; Castel Tiano, a large town; Carinola, a city and strong castle; the town of Francolino, a strong place; Pietra Molina (*sic*), a town with a castle; Verstano and Martinello Calvario, Gaianello. In the valley 'de' Fiumari': Monte Fossetolo, a large town; Vico, a town with a very strong castle, and other walled towns, but of no great strength. In the county of Molise: La Cività (the largest town), La Dragonara, Castel-rotto, Luceto, Cartapelagio, Mozzone. In Puglia: Venosa, Andrea, Bitonto, the Castle of Monte S. Angelo, Verte (*sic*), and S. Giovanni.*

"I assure you, moreover, that all the Spaniards in Italy will follow me, in number upwards of 300 men-at-arms and 400 light horse, besides much infantry; and, in addition to the Spaniards, I have so many partisans in the kingdom of Naples, that for love of me they would in a few days revolutionize the whole country. It is true that, as the Signory has a commander-in-chief, I do not know how she could engage me, but she must divide her forces; if she sends me into the kingdom of Naples I will do as aforesaid. Should the war be kindled in France, I have adherents there likewise, and could embroil matters; and if employed to harass the Papal States, I will also do the like. Even should it be necessary for me to join your commander-in-chief, I will do everything to serve the State.'

"I thanked his Excellency greatly for his goodwill and excellent offers, and said I would acquaint your Serenity with the whole, but that as it behoved me to quit Spain, it would be requisite to make some good arrangement for continuing and conducting the negotiation; and that I thought it would be well for him to have some one at Venice, or to send some one thither with a power, that it might take effect.

"His Excellency replied, that it did not appear to him consistent with his dignity to send any one to Venice to negotiate this matter; and that, secondly, no person of note could pass;





whilst, on the other hand, to send an unknown individual post to treat on such a business would be insufficient and insecure; but that in Rome he had his brother, the Bishop of Gaeta, to whom he would send his power, and with whom, through the Signory's ambassador, or through any other person that might be thoughtfit, your Excellencies could treat, or even, if you pleased, with his wife at Genoa. Perceiving this to be his will, I said there would be no means of treating at Genoa, but that, provided the Signory's ambassador had not been dismissed from thence likewise, the matter might be very well negotiated at Rome. His Lordship rejoined, that even in the event of the ambassador's departure, the State could employ the father of the Cardinal Grimani, or the Cardinal —, or some other person; adding, 'I give you notice that I have the means of quitting Spain in safety, and have ships and companions, and everything necessary. Would that the Signory had contrived to embroil the King of Spain with France, by promising him the [Venetian] towns in Puglia, as perhaps from cupidity he would have made the bargain, and then have stood so much in need of the Signory, as to give her back the towns, with others; and thus she would have ridded herself of this war. And you must know that this King trembles at France, and knows not how to be otherwise than obedient, because he is afraid to resist; and should France and the Emperor not turn round and expel him—the one from Castile and the other from Aragon—yet does he know for certain that his kingdom of Naples is lost, unless the Signory prevail against France. For this reason he delayed sending you away until compelled by France, who sent to tell him three things:—one, that he was not to send me into Italy; the other, that he was to allow the Florentines to have Pisa, for the sake of rendering them the allies of France; thirdly, that he was to attack you in the kingdom of Naples, as he certainly will do; and before you get to Naples (by which way I recommend you to go to Venice) you will hear this; and don't listen to his fair words, for he never kept faith or promise or his word, save so far as they prove beneficial to him.'

After perusing this correspondence it is difficult to refuse credit to Henry VIII., when at a later period he accused the Great Captain of wavering in his allegiance to his Sovereign. In the autumn of 1515 the Spanish ambassador in London reports that the King said to him,—

"I well believe that the King my father-in-law has some ground for distrusting the 'Great Captain,' as I know that he held a negotiation both with the late King of France [Lewis XII.], and with the present King [Francis I.]. If I were in my father's place,





I would sift the matter to the bottom, and, if it were proved against the Great Captain, I would punish him for it, and if it were not proved I would make use of his services. I must further tell you, that the Great Captain once made an offer of his services to me, sending one of his own followers to Tournai, where I then was, for the purpose, but although I was at that time not on the best terms with King Ferdinand, I did not choose to give him encouragement.”\*

From the Archives of the Council of Ten the History of Italian Cipher may be summed up thus.

Until the reign of Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) the cipher still in use was that of Julius Caesar and Augustus, who, when writing secret despatches, made the second or third letter of the alphabet represent the first; and the same sequence was adopted with regard to the others; but as a famous scholar of that period, Leon Battista Alberti,\* then wrote a book which divulged the secret, a new school of ciphers and a new sort of cipher sprang up, and amongst its professors the most famous at Venice were the secretaries Zuan Soro, Lodovico Dorgi, Marin, and a renegade Jew named Marco Raphael, who, having apparently betrayed the Signory, made his escape to England, and there found great favour with Henry VIII. in the years 1530 and 1531, not for ciphering, but for writing in favour of the divorce.

But the father of the secret of Venetian cipher was Zuan Soro, of whom the earliest notice that I am acquainted is dated 8th April 1516, and may be read at p. 293 of the present volume. The passage alludes to his skill in deciphering, and amongst the state papers of Marco Minio, ambassador at Rome, now in my possession, are several dual dispatches on parchment written in cipher, the invention of which I do not hesitate to attribute to Zuan Soro. One of these dispatches, written throughout in cipher and addressed by the Senate to Minio at Rome, on the 13th August 1518, is endorsed with the monogram which I interpret thus, “Giovanni Battista Soro, Vene-  
“tia.” The cipher addressed to Minio resembles exactly that of which Michael swelled himself in his correspondence with the republic some 33 years later. It consists of capitals and

\* Leon Battista Alberti was one of the most learned and accomplished men of the fifteenth century, an poet, architect, musician, mathematician and author. Concerning him and his works amongst which, however, he mentions a work of cipher, see *Opera di Jacopo Mariti, Edizione di S. Marco*, vol. ii. pp. 132-33. (12, Venice, 1822.)





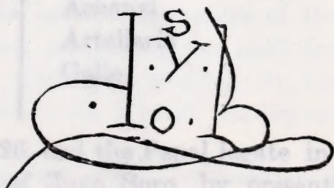
## APPENDIX II.

### HISTORY OF ITALIAN CIPHER.

From the statements of various secretaries preserved in the Archives of the Council of Ten the History of Italian Cipher may be summed up thus.

Until the reign of Sixtus IV. (1471-1484) the cipher still in use was that of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, who, when writing secret despatches, made the second or third letter of the alphabet represent the first; and the same sequence was adopted with regard to the others; but as a famous scholar of that period, Leon Battista Alberto,\* then wrote a book which divulged the secret, a new school of ciphers and a new sort of cipher sprang up, and amongst its professors the most famous at Venice were the secretaries Zuan Soro, Lodovici, Borgi, Marin, and a renegade Jew named Marco Raphael, who, having apparently betrayed the Signory, made his escape to England, and there found great favour with Henry VIII. in the years 1530 and 1531, not for ciphering, but for writing in favour of the divorce.

But the father of the science of Venetian cipher was Zuan Soro, of whom the earliest notice with which I am acquainted is dated 8th April 1516, and may be read at p. 293 of the present volume. The passage alludes to his skill in deciphering, and amongst the state papers of Marco Minio, ambassador at Rome, now in my possession, are several ducal missives on parchment written in cipher, the invention of which I do not hesitate to attribute to Zuan Soro. One of these despatches, written throughout in cipher and addressed by the Senate to Minio at Rome, on the 13th August 1519, is endorsed with the monogram which I interpret thus, "Giovanni Battista Soro, Venetian." The cipher addressed to Minio resembles radically that of which Michiel availed himself in his correspondence with the republic some 35 years later. It consists of capitals and



\* Leon Battista Alberti was one of the most learned and accomplished men of the fifteenth century, as poet, painter, musician, mathematician, and architect. Concerning him and his works, amongst which, however, no mention is made of cipher, see *Operette di Jacopo Morelli, Biblioteca di S. Marco*, vol. ii. pp. 253-72. (Ed. Venice, 1820.)





small letters, or signs resembling them, interspersed with numerals &c. To this ciphered despatch no key exists in the Venetian archives.

In June 1529 Soro composed a cipher for the Doge's illegitimate son, who was in great favour at the Porte, and secretly conveyed to the Signory all that he could discover concerning the ambitious projects of Sultan Solyman.

The cipher with which Alvise Gritti was furnished on this occasion closely resembles that which Soro used when writing to Minio at Rome on the 13th August, 1519. The five vowels (as seen by the key, preserved amongst the papers of the Council of Ten) are represented in four different ways, thus,—

| a | e | i | o | u |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | 5 | 2 | ε | θ |
| Δ | K | 7 | p | r |
| + | A | ⊙ | b | 8 |
| t | ≡ | ω | s | 7 |

Sultan Solyman is represented by a circle, in the centre of which is a dot. The Grand Vizier Ibraim (styled by the historian Sagredo, "the dominator's dominator,") appears as a crescent; the Emperor resembles an M. No specific cipher is assigned to Henry VIII., or to England, though Greece, Turkey, Germany, Italy, Rome, Hungary, Laybach, and the Friuli, have each a peculiar sign of their own as follows:

|  |    |            |   |
|--|----|------------|---|
| Seren <sup>mo</sup> . Gran Sig <sup>r</sup> .  | ⊙  | Italia     | Ω |
| Mag <sup>co</sup> . Imbrain                    | D  | Roma       | W |
| Li Mag <sup>ci</sup> . Bassà                   | II | Hungaria   | m |
| La Illust <sup>ma</sup> . Sig <sup>ria</sup> . | ♀  | Lubiana    | 8 |
| Il Re di Franza                                | 8  | Friul      | Γ |
| Cesare   | M  | Cavali     | 5 |
| Larchiduca                                     | X  | Janizari   | ⊙ |
| Re Zuane                                       | 8  | Sanzachi   | 4 |
| Re di Polonia                                  | A  | Achanzi    | B |
| Grecia   | 7  | Artellarie | コ |
| Turchia  | 2° | Galie      | ♀ |
| Alemagna                                       | ∥  |            |   |

Already, on the 18th June 1526, had the Papal legate in Venice borne testimony to the ability of Zuan Soro, by presenting the Signory with ciphered despatches which were written by the ambassador of Charles V. at Rome, and for the comprehension of which recourse was had to Soro, of whom Sanuto remarks that as a decipherer he was unique; and on the following 26th of July, the diarist adds that Soro had deciphered three long letters written by the Imperialists. Moreover, on the 12th of August the Venetian





Secretary wrote from Amboise that in France Soro was considered as one inspired (*tenuto per Dio*), because he had deciphered certain letters, which had been sent for that express purpose from Poitiers to Venice.\*

In August 1529 we find Clement VII. complaining to Gasparo Contarini that the Florentines had intercepted his letters, and sent copies of the ciphered parts to Venice that they might be deciphered by Soro, the Pope expressing his belief that "Soro could "decipher any cipher;" but a few days later it was heard at the Vatican that the Venetian secretary had failed to read the ciphered despatches sent thence to the Papal agents in France.† The cipher used by Clement VII. was apparently more puzzling than that of Charles V.

In 1544 Soro was dead, and the "Father of Venetian cipher" (as he was styled by one of his juniors in the ducal chancery) had for successors one Zuanne, an engineer, Giovanni Battista de' Lodovici, Zuan Francesco Marin, and Alvise Borgi, these two last being both renowned for their skill in deciphering foreign cipher; and especial mention is made of Marin's having read a most difficult Spanish cipher without any key.

Whilst Soro was in his prime the Venetian diplomatists at foreign courts were each provided with distinct and separate ciphers, but by degrees one single cipher was made to suffice for all the Signory's political agents, an abuse which the Council of Ten at length remedied on the 31st of August 1547, by a decree purporting that "a new cipher was to be made out for each of "the Signory's envoys at Rome, to the Emperor, to the King of "France, King of the Romans, King of England (Edward VI.), "Great Turk (Solyman II.), and also for the secretary at Milan."

At that period Venice was represented at the Court of Edward VI. by the secretary Jacopo Zambon, none of whose letters exist in the Venetian Archives. The Signory's representatives who succeeded him from 1548 to 1554, were four in number, Bollani, Barbaro, Agostini, and Soranzo; their despatches from England have in like manner perished, so that the earliest specimens of the Venetian cipher, composed expressly and exclusively in 1547 for the use thenceforth of the Signory's envoys accredited to the English Court, are the ciphered passages in the Michiel correspondence.

The task of forming the cipher, as seen by the above-mentioned decree (31 August 1547), was assigned by the Council of Ten to the secretaries Giovanni Battista Ludovici and Alvise Borgi, and

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\* Sanuto Diaries, vols. xli., p. 466., xlii., pp. 163, 342.

† Letter Book of Gaspar Contarini in St. Mark's Library, 21st May 1528 and 5th November 1529.





they were desired to complete it "within one month at the furthest, and to make a new book of ciphers, stating in detail to whom they consigned them; the book to be kept under lock and key by the secretary charged with the secret register of the Senate in the Secret Chancery," etc.

All the zealous endeavours made by the "Vice Aggiunto," Signor Luigi Pasini, to discover the "new book," compiled three centuries ago, have proved fruitless, but from the writing presented to the Ten by Borgi himself, it may be asserted that the Michiel cipher consists of grain and chaff; the superfluous chaff cipher being introduced for the sole purpose of misleading; and in conclusion, we learn from Borgi that single signs represented syllables and entire words, and that in his time no one had succeeded in forging keys to Venetian cipher of that description.

The photographed letter,\* date 18 November 1555, will give the student a clue to the sign representing the title "Serenissimo Principe," and the two letters of the 28th April 1556, which are almost identical, relate to the execution on that day at Tyburn of Richard Udall and John Throgmorton; so we may suppose the cipher to have revealed some of their confessions, which are known very much to have implicated the Princess Elizabeth. If by any lucky oversight the ambassador had written legibly in one letter, that which was concealed by cipher in the other, some approach might have been made to its entire interpretation; but at any rate, the mere date of the two despatches will interest the biographers of Queen Elizabeth, and the careful collation of them may perhaps elicit some electric spark in confirmation of the Deputy Keeper's well-grounded opinion that the ciphered correspondence of Giovanni Michiel will "throw additional light on the events of the reign of "Queen Mary." (See Report, p. 5.)

Of the cipher used by the Signory of Venice in the 17th century the accompanying specimen has been lithographed from a despatch written by the Secretary Lorenzo Paulucci in London, narrating the impression produced by the instalment of Oliver Cromwell as Protector. The cipher and decipher are both preserved in the Filza, no. 116, Dispacci Francia; and their reproduction serves to illustrate the history of Venetian cipher and of English popular feeling on the 3rd of January (N.S.) 1654.

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\* See p. lix.





imprende, che la propria esis-  
ter le pontuali preter soddisfazioni  
appunto la convenienza <sup>pubbica</sup> ~~particolare~~, e  
ad. — Una tale risoluzione  
~~di poi~~ <sup>potrà</sup> parerle con il tempo in  
suo può ben attendersi; ma non  
vedesti s'incenderà quello diavolo  
e <sup>2</sup> ~~il~~ particolarmente scorgetti  
la partecipazione, e commessione,  
questo nuovo governo; (che, se  
dico nel principio di esso nel  
suo, ~~non~~ si dubita haver si  
più, o grandemente alterato.

JARY. N.S. 1654.

ovanni Sagredo.





[illegible]











## APPENDIX III.

TABLE of PROTESTS legalized by NOTARIES in LONDON, for Non-payment of BILLS drawn at VENICE on MERCHANTS in LONDON, from 1442 to 1512.

| Date of Bill drawn at Venice | Rate of Exchange at Venice. | Date of Protest in London. | Rate of Exchange in London, and Date. |                         | Name and Address of Notary. |  |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
|                              | per ducat. d.               |                            | per ducat. d.                         |                         |                             |  |
| 1442, Sept. 26               | 44 $\frac{1}{2}$            | 1442, Dec. 31              | 40 $\frac{1}{4}$                      | 1442, Dec. 31           | Styfford                    | Willielmus Styfford, Lombard                                 |
| 1446, Aug. 27                | 43 $\frac{1}{2}$            | 1446, Nov. 28              | 41 $\frac{1}{2}$                      | 1446, Nov. 28           | "                           | Street, Parish of St. Nicholas                               |
| " Dec. 10                    | 44                          | 1446 (sic),<br>March 13    | 40 $\frac{1}{2}$                      | 1446 (sic),<br>March 13 | "                           | Acon. 19 Protests, 1442,<br>December 31, to 1462,<br>May 15. |
| 1447, Feb. 9                 | 43                          | 1447, May 10               | —                                     | 1447, May 10            | "                           |  |
| " March 1                    | 43 $\frac{1}{4}$            | 1447, June 5               | 40 $\frac{1}{2}$                      | 1447, June 5            | "                           |  |
| " " 7                        | 43 $\frac{1}{2}$            | " " 7                      | 40 $\frac{1}{2}$                      | " " 7                   | "                           |  |
| " Nov. 8                     | 45                          | 1448, Jan. 23              | 41 $\frac{1}{2}$                      | 1448, Jan. 23           | "                           |  |
| 1450, Sept. 2                | 46                          | 1450, Dec. 2               | 43 $\frac{1}{8}$                      | 1450, Dec. 2            | "                           |  |
| 1453, " 4                    | 44 $\frac{1}{4}$            | 1453, " 4                  | 39 $\frac{3}{4}$                      | 1453, " 4               | "                           |  |
| 1454, Oct. 2                 | 45                          | 1455, Jan. 2               | 40 $\frac{3}{4}$                      | 1455, Jan. 2            | "                           |  |
| 1455, March 22               | 43 $\frac{1}{2}$            | " July 4                   | 41                                    | " July 4                | "                           |  |
| 1457, Feb. 4                 | 45                          | 1457, May 4                | 43                                    | 1457, May 4             | "                           |  |
| 1458, Jan. 20                | 45                          | 1458, April 21             | 43 $\frac{7}{8}$                      | 1458, April 21          | "                           |  |
| " Oct. 17                    | 48                          | 1459, Jan. 17              | 44 $\frac{1}{2}$                      | 1459, Jan. 17           | "                           |  |
| 1460, Jan. 11                | 47                          | 1460, April 17             | 43 $\frac{1}{2}$                      | 1460, April 17          | "                           |  |
| 1461, June 8                 | 47 $\frac{1}{4}$            | 1461, Sept. 9              | 43 $\frac{3}{4}$                      | 1461, Sept. 9           | "                           |  |
| " Aug. 27                    | 47 $\frac{3}{4}$            | " Nov. 27                  | 44                                    | " Nov. 27               | "                           |  |
| " Nov. 20                    | 47                          | 1462, Feb. 22              | 44                                    | 1462, Feb. 22           | "                           |  |
| 1462, Feb. 15                | 47                          | " May 15                   | 44                                    | " May 15                | "                           |  |
| " July 6                     | 47                          | " Oct. 7                   | 44                                    | " Oct. 7                | Bonamitié                   | Petrus Bonamitié, Lombard                                    |
| " Aug. 15                    | 47                          | " Nov. 16                  | 44 $\frac{1}{4}$                      | " Nov. 16               | "                           | Street, Parish of St. Mary                                   |
| 1463, Jan. 6                 | 47                          | 1463, April 15             | 41                                    | 1463, April 15          | "                           | Wolnoth. 7 Protests, 1462,                                   |
| " " 11                       | 47                          | " " 14                     | 41                                    | " " 14                  | "                           | October 7, to 1467, Aug. 9.                                  |
| " Feb. 27                    | 47                          | " May 27                   | 43                                    | " May 27                | "                           |  |
| 1464, April 26               | 47 $\frac{1}{4}$            | 1464, Nov. 13              | 42 $\frac{3}{4}$                      | 1464, Nov. 13           | "                           |  |
| 1466, " 28                   | 50                          | 1466, Aug. 6               | 46 $\frac{1}{2}$                      | 1466, July 29           | Hydyngham                   | Robertus Hydyngham, Lom-                                     |
|                              |                             |                            |                                       |                         |                             | bard Street, Parish of St.                                   |
|                              |                             |                            |                                       |                         |                             | Mary Wolnoth. 3 Protests,                                    |
|                              |                             |                            |                                       |                         |                             | 1446, July 29, to 1471,                                      |
|                              |                             |                            |                                       |                         |                             | October 21.  |

## APPENDIX III.

TABLE of PROTESTS registered by NOTARIES in LONDON for Non-payment of Bills drawn at Venice on MERCHANTS in LONDON from 1442 to 1512.

| Year of Bill<br>drawn at Venice | Month & Day of Protest | Time of Protest<br>in London | How of Exchange in<br>London, and Date | Name and Address of Merchant   |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| 1442, Dec. 20                   | 1442, Dec. 20          | 1442, Dec. 20                | 1442, Dec. 20                          | William Wyndham, London        |
| 1442, Aug. 12                   | 1442, Aug. 12          | 1442, Aug. 12                | 1442, Aug. 12                          | Robert Wyndham, London         |
| " Dec. 10                       | " Dec. 10              | 1442 (sic),<br>March 10      | 1442 (sic),<br>March 10                | "                              |
| 1442, Feb. 8                    | 1442, Feb. 8           | 1442, May 10                 | 1442, May 10                           | "                              |
| March 1                         | 1442, June 2           | 1442, June 2                 | 1442, June 2                           | "                              |
| " " 7                           | " " 7                  | " " 7                        | " " 7                                  | "                              |
| " Nov. 2                        | 1442, Jan. 20          | 1442, Jan. 20                | 1442, Jan. 20                          | "                              |
| 1442, Sept. 2                   | 1442, Dec. 2           | 1442, Dec. 2                 | 1442, Dec. 2                           | "                              |
| 1442, " 4                       | 1442, " 4              | 1442, " 4                    | 1442, " 4                              | "                              |
| 1442, Oct. 2                    | 1442, Jan. 2           | 1442, Jan. 2                 | 1442, Jan. 2                           | "                              |
| 1442, March 22                  | " July 4               | " July 4                     | " July 4                               | "                              |
| 1442, Feb. 4                    | 1442, May 4            | 1442, May 4                  | 1442, May 4                            | "                              |
| 1442, Jan. 20                   | 1442, April 21         | 1442, April 21               | 1442, April 21                         | "                              |
| " Oct. 17                       | 1442, Jan. 17          | 1442, Jan. 17                | 1442, Jan. 17                          | "                              |
| 1442, Jan. 11                   | 1442, April 17         | 1442, April 17               | 1442, April 17                         | "                              |
| Oct. 10                         | 1442, Sept. 2          | 1442, Sept. 2                | 1442, Sept. 2                          | "                              |
| " Aug. 27                       | " Nov. 27              | " Nov. 27                    | " Nov. 27                              | "                              |
| " Nov. 20                       | 1442, Feb. 20          | 1442, Feb. 20                | 1442, Feb. 20                          | "                              |
| 1442, Nov. 12                   | " May 12               | " May 12                     | " May 12                               | "                              |
| " July 2                        | " Oct. 2               | " Oct. 2                     | " Oct. 2                               | "                              |
| " Aug. 12                       | " Nov. 12              | " Nov. 12                    | " Nov. 12                              | "                              |
| 1442, Jan. 5                    | 1442, April 12         | 1442, April 12               | 1442, April 12                         | "                              |
| " " 11                          | " " 11                 | " " 11                       | " " 11                                 | "                              |
| " Feb. 27                       | " May 27               | " May 27                     | " May 27                               | "                              |
| 1442, April 20                  | 1442, Nov. 12          | 1442, Nov. 12                | 1442, Nov. 12                          | "                              |
| 1442, " 22                      | 1442, Aug. 2           | 1442, Aug. 2                 | 1442, Aug. 2                           | "                              |
| 1442, July 22, to 1442, Aug. 2  |                        |                              |  | Robert Wyndham, London         |
|                                 |                        |                              |  | and Robert Wyndham, London     |
|                                 |                        |                              |  | May Wyndham, London            |
|                                 |                        |                              |  | 1442, July 22, to 1442, Aug. 2 |
|                                 |                        |                              |  | London 22.                     |



| Date of Bill drawn at Venice. | Rate of Exchange at Venice. | Date of Protest in London. | Rate of Exchange in London, and Date. |                | Name and Address of Notary. |   |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|---|
|                               | per ducat. d.               |                            | per ducat. d.                         |                |                             |   |
| 1467, May 8                   | 51½                         | 1467, Aug. 9               | 48                                    | 1467, Aug. 9   | Bonamitié                   |   |
| 1468, June 4                  | 52½                         | 1468, Sept. 9              | 49                                    | 1468, Sept. 5  | Slade                       | Willielmus Slade, Lombard Street, Parish of St. Nicholas Acon. 14 Protests, 1468, September 5, to 1479, October 20. |
| 1469, April 21                | 53                          | 1469, July 21              | 50                                    | 1469, July 21  | "                           |   |
| " June 27                     | 53¾                         | " Oct. 26                  | 49¾                                   | " Oct. 26      | Domy                        | Ricardus Domy, Lombard Street, Parish of St. Mary. 1 Protest, 1469, October 26.                                     |
| " Dec. 8                      | 55¼                         | " (sic) Mar. 8             | 50½                                   | " (sic) Mar. 8 | Slade                       |   |
| 1470, Jan. 23                 | 55                          | 1470, April 27             | 50⅔                                   | 1470, April 26 | "                           |   |
| " March 12                    | 54½                         | " June 27                  | 49½                                   | " June 14      | "                           |   |
| " June 8                      | 54½                         | " Sept. 10                 | 50½                                   | " Sept. 10     | "                           |   |
| " July 6                      | 54½                         | " Oct. 12                  | 50¾                                   | " Oct. 8       | "                           |   |
| 1471, Jan. 8                  | 55½                         | 1471, May 4                | 50                                    | 1471, April 9  | Hydyngnam                   |   |
| " July 20                     | 55½                         | " Oct. 22                  | 50¾                                   | " Oct. 21      | "                           |   |
| 1473, May 10                  | 55½                         | 1473, Aug. 12              | 50                                    | 1473, Aug. 11  | Slade                       |   |
| 1475, July 21                 | 56                          | 1475, Nov. 4               | 51½                                   | 1475, Oct. 23  | "                           |   |
| 1476, Feb. 28                 | 56                          | 1476, June 1               | 51½                                   | 1476, May 29   | "                           |   |
| " May 31                      | 56                          | " Aug. 31                  | 52¾                                   | " Aug 31       | "                           |   |
| " Oct. 23                     | 56                          | 1477, Jan. 23              | 52½                                   | 1477, Jan. 23  | "                           |   |
| 1477, Jan. 1                  | 56½                         | " April 3                  | 52½                                   | " April 2      | "                           |   |
| 1479, July 20                 | 55½<br>(sic)                | 1479, Oct. 20              | 50                                    | 1479, Oct. 20  | "                           |   |
| 1481, July 31                 | 54¾                         | 1481, Nov. 15              | 51¾                                   | 1481, Nov. 15  | Kyffyn                      | Thomas Kyffyn, Lombard Street, Parish of St. Mary Wolnoth. 1 Protest, 1481, November 15.                            |
| 1508, Jan. 15                 | 52                          | 1508, Feb. 29              | —                                     | 1508, Feb. 29  | Devereux                    | Johannes Devereux, Lombard Street, Parish of St. Mary Wolnoth. 2 Protests, 1508, February 29, to 1512, October 29.  |
| 1512, June 22                 | 54                          | 1512, Oct. 29              | 51¾                                   | 1512, Oct. 29  | "                           |   |

*Note.* On the 4th November 1427, as seen by the original certificate in the Venetian Archives, the notary Robert Lockyng practised at *Sandwich* "by Apostolic and Imperial authority," whereas the *London* notaries, Styfford, Bonamitié, Hydyngnam, Domy, Slade, and Kyffyn, throughout the fifteenth century—unlike Lockyng—dispense with *Apostolic* authority, but serve their clients *IMPERIALI AUCTORITATE*, always without the slightest reference to the jurisdiction of the English crown. In the sixteenth century (1507-12) the London notary Devereux, on the other hand, acts like Lockyng at Sandwich in 1427, by *Apostolic and Imperial authority*.





# VENETIAN AND OTHER PAPERS.

A.D. 1509.

1509. **1.** RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador ANDREA BADOER, dated London, 26th and 28th April. Had furnished himself with gowns and plate. Wants a cipher. Had drawn on Venice in two bills of exchange for 500 ducats. The new King was a worthy King; he had received the allegiance of the whole kingdom, with the exception of two individuals, one of whom is a certain president of Scotland and supposed to be an agent of the King of France. This result may cause the King of England to take up arms against France, for he is already greatly inclined so to do.

Receipt of other letters from Agostin da Mulla, captain of the Flanders galleys, dated Hampton, 22nd April. He was unable to depart, by reason of the foul weather. Would endeavour to make haste, on account of the troublous times. Had hired a bark as convoy.

[*Italian.*]

May 30.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xli. p. 195  
tergo.

**2.** The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

In date of the 16th wrote to him of the rout, rather than defeat, of their troops by the French army, and in what manner he was to negotiate with the King of England. Inform him (Badoer) that the King of France has advanced farther, and is now master of all the Signory's cities and places in Lombardy, as far as the Mincio, from which territory he will derive a considerable revenue. Deep anxiety of the State, as all the French projects will doubtless succeed, unless some mode of prevention be devised by the Christian powers, each of whom should well ponder the power of France, now augmented by the present advantages obtained over Venice. Are of opinion that this consideration must impress itself on the King of England, both from personal interest and because he is well acquainted with the nature of the French, so that he should wisely provide against so many imminent misfortunes. He (Badoer) is to see the King, and, placing well before him all the aforesaid dangers, especially those which threaten his own territory, to beseech him no longer to delay making diversions in those parts; England being well supplied with brave and able men, whilst the King's own endowments also furnish all the requisites for such an object. Desire him to have frequent audience of the King, so as to kindle and encourage him to do as above; and the State will not fail to make every effort for the preservation of the rest of its territory.

[*Italian, 32 lines.*]





1509.

May 31.  
Misti Consiglio X.  
v. xxxii. p. 109.

3. DECREE of the COLLEGE for the acceptance of bills of exchange for 280 ducats, of the 480 drawn by the ambassador in England on the Foscari and Balbi, payable proportionally. The remaining 200 ducats to be disbursed in London out of the 400 ducats remitted to the said ambassador.

Ayes, 16, 0, 0.

[*Italian, 3 lines.*]

May 31.  
Ib.

4. DECREE of the COUNCIL OF TEN, with the Money-Junta, that the bills of exchange of Andrea Badoer, ambassador to the King of England, drawn on the noblemen of Cà Foscari and Balbi, be paid.

[*Latin, 6 lines.*]

June 10.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. viii. p. 306.

5. RECEIPT of LETTERS from ENGLAND. Current report that the King had not permitted the Pope's excommunication of the Venetians to be published.

[*Italian.*]

June 29.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 16,  
tergo.

6. The DOGE and SENATE to the six VENETIAN AMBASSADORS in ROME.

Approve the inclusion in the agreement [with the Pope] of the Kings of England, Spain, and Hungary.

July 27.  
Sanuto Dairies,  
v. viii. p. 436.

7. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER, dated London, 3rd July. On the 25th. [June] the new King was crowned with the usual ceremonies; jousts and entertainments being held, and also for the marriage, he having taken to wife his sister-in-law (Katharine of Arragon), daughter of the King of Spain, and widow of his elder brother, with whom she lived six months. She never quitted England after the death of her first husband. The King had given his sister (Mary) to the Archduke Charles of Burgundy.

Went subsequently to the King, and made such speeches as due. He had heard of the rout of the Signory by France, the news having come in seven days. He evinced great regret and distress, and said he was the Signory's good friend, and would hold a Parliament of the barons, to discuss this matter. He will keep the State good company; nor may any one doubt his intent. The Bishop of Winchester (Richard Fox) is the warm friend of Venice.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 6.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 33,  
tergo.

8. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

The King of France had remained at Milan, incessantly attacking the State and doing his utmost to obtain its entire territory; but he is now understood to be on his way back to France. Have done their utmost to appease the Emperor, and to prove their devotion and respect for him, but he has never received any one of the many envoys accredited by them to that effect, and, instigated by the State's rivals, has never ceased hostilities, so that they have been compelled to defend themselves. Have already recovered their





1509.

city of Padua and its territory, and have reinforced the army there. The Emperor having intimated to them to send an ambassador to Colalto, for a conference with his commissioners, they dispatched the nobleman Alvise Mocenigo, whom the commissioners would not receive, but sent back. The King of France, in order to seize all the rest of their territory and make himself Lord of Italy, and then take the crown and become monarch of the world, had joined his troops with those of the Emperor. These allies had plundered the Venetian provinces and committed heinous and unheard of cruelties, sparing neither sex nor age; tracking youths hidden in the maize fields and elsewhere with bloodhounds, and causing them to be mangled,—a thing not to be told without commiseration.

He (Badoer) is to confer with the King of England and his chief counsellors. To urge his Majesty not to lose so great an opportunity, nor to permit the ruin of the State, which has undeniably, at the cost of much blood and treasure, done great things for the maintenance and increase of the Christian commonwealth. To represent that Venice has ever been most friendly and devoted to all the King's progenitors, and above all to his late father, and will not show less attachment to him, and that it seems a great anomaly that whereas for so many years the Signory has in vain sought to form a Christian league against the Infidel, now, nevertheless, the princes of Christendom, without any just cause, have formed an alliance for the utter annihilation of Venice.

Should he (Badoer) be unable to obtain more advantageous terms, he is to do his utmost to prevail on the King to write to the King of France to abstain from hostilities against the State, as such letters would have great weight; and in like manner to prevail on the King to write to the Emperor to cease from attacking them, and to receive their ambassador, because, if admitted to audience, he (the ambassador) might negotiate a good perpetual alliance and confederation between the Pope, the Emperor and the Signory, and such other powers as might seem fit, to the great benefit of the Christian commonwealth.

In reply to an inquiry—contained in his (Badoer's) last letters—made by the King relative to the Flanders galleys, he (Badoer) is to tell the King, should the latter again allude to the subject, that it was the wish of the Signory to send the fleet as usual, and that it would have been already on the voyage but for the present disturbances, which cause the merchants to dread the loss of their property, and decline incurring such manifest risk. The King will thus perceive how much mischief is caused by this war, which they again and again request him to prevent by his power and authority.

[*Italian, 60 lines.*]

Aug. 30.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 44,  
tergo.

9. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Have received his letters of the 10th and 19th July. By the former comprehend his negotiations with the King, and how he prudently suggested that the Lady Margaret (of Austria) should

city of Padua and its territory, and have relieved the army there. The Emperor having intimated to them to send an ambassador to Collette, for a conference with the commissioners they dispatched the nobleman Aloisio Mancoschi, whom the commissioners would not receive but sent back. The King of France, in order to seize all the rest of their territory and make himself Lord of Italy, and then take the crown and become monarch of the world, had joined his troops with those of the Emperor. These allies had plundered the Venetian provinces and committed heinous and unheard of cruelties sparing neither sex nor age: tracking youths hidden in the maize fields and elsewhere with bloodhounds, and causing them to be smothered—a thing not to be told without commentaries.

He (Barbier) is in concert with the King of England and his chief counsellors. To urge his Majesty not to lose so great an opportunity, not to permit the ruin of the State, which has nobility at the cost of much blood and treasure done great things for the religion and honour of the Christian commonwealth. To represent that France has ever been most friendly and devoted to all the King's properties, and above all to his late father, and will not show less attachment to him, and that it seems a great anomaly that whereas for so many years the Signory has in vain sought to form a Christian league against the Infidel, now, nevertheless, the princes of Christendom, without any just cause, have formed an alliance for the utter annihilation of Venice.

Should he (Barbier) be unable to obtain more advantageous terms, he is to do his utmost to prevail on the King to write to the King of France to abstain from hostilities against the State, as such letters would have great weight; and in like manner to prevail on the King to write to the Emperor to cease from attacking them, and to receive their ambassador, because, if admitted to audience, he (the ambassador) might negotiate a good perpetual alliance and concord between the Pope, the Emperor and the Signory, and such other powers as might seem fit, to the great benefit of the Christian commonwealth.

In reply to an inquiry—contained in his (Barbier's) last letter—made by the King relative to the Barbier's letter, he (Barbier) is to tell the King should the latter again allude to the subject, that it was the wish of the Signory to send the fleet as usual, and that it would have been already on the voyage but for the present disturbances, which cause the merchants to dread the loss of their property; and besides incurring such marked risk. The King will then perceive how much mischief is caused by this war, which they again and again request him to prevent by his power and authority.

[Italian, 60 lines.]

8. The Duke and Duchess of ANJOU, BARBER, Ambassador in England.

Have received his letter of the 10th and 16th July. In the former comprehended his negotiations with the King, and how he presently suggested that the Lady Margaret (of Anjou) should

Aug. 30.  
Delivered  
to the Duke  
of Anjou  
at 11 p. m.



1509.

mediate for the Signory's reconciliation with the Emperor. Approve and praise his conduct, perceiving that the Lord Privy Seal has informed him that his suggestion had been more than adopted. The King of France, after sending his troops to join those of the Emperor, detached the Marquises of Ferrara and Mantua to harass the Venetian territory; and the Marquis of Mantua having entered the Veronese at a place called "*Isola della Scala*," a Venetian detachment from Padua attacked his troops and took him prisoner, with many other prisoners of account, including a Frenchman, quartermaster general (*capitano del campo*), and some 600 horses, many of which were valuable. Many men at arms were killed and some took flight. The booty made by the troops in money, plate, apparel, horses, and arms was of considerable value, and the Marquis in person was brought prisoner to Venice. The Emperor after effecting his junction with the French forces and those of the Pope, of the Marquis of Mantua, and other Italians, rebels to the State, came with the whole army into the territory of Padua, at no great distance from the city, which was garrisoned by a strong and numerous army. Although they believe the Emperor to be well inclined towards them, he is constantly urged to attack them by the French and other malignants. Hope, nevertheless, that the Emperor will not fail them. The King of France, who has been hitherto in Italy, is now understood to be at Grenoble, doing all he can to make himself Lord of Italy, and then—as frequently stated by them—of the universe. He holds the Emperor in small account, and—as they hear through a sure channel—has concluded, or is about to conclude, a league between the Pope and himself exclusively, abandoning the Florentines and Ferrara. Doubt not but that the King (of England) has already heard of this, or will hear of it. The Pope's treatment of the State is contrary to all equity and justice, and utterly unmerited: for although they have obeyed the papal monition within the appointed term, and restored not only the two towns desired by his Holiness but likewise, to appease him, those others held by the State for many years by permission of many Popes—after evincing every mark of deference for his Holiness, both by respectful letters and by the mission of six chief senators as ambassadors, and after he had raised the censures—yet he has nevertheless shown himself obdurate towards them, under the influence and the threats, as they believe, of the King of France.

He (Badoer) is to acquaint the King and his chief counsellors with these circumstances, and to request him to succour them, or at least to write to the King of France to abstain from attacking the Signory. To thank the King for what he has done with the ambassadors of the Archduchess Margaret, and to urge him to act through her, so that the Emperor may make peace with the State. If possible, he is also to induce the King to write to the Pope, as his father did. To thank the King, in conclusion, for his good treatment of the Venetian merchants.

[*Italian*, 78 lines.]





1509.

Aug. 30.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. ix. p. 90.

**10. MOTION MADE BY THE SAGES** [in the Senate,] and carried, for a letter to Andrea Badoer, the ambassador in England, instructing him to go to the King, acquaint him with the course of events, and request him to attack France. Should the King choose a league with or aid from the Signory, Badoer to offer the same.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. ix. p. 122.

**11. RECEIPT OF LETTERS** from the Ambassador ANDREA BADOER in England, dated — August. An ambassador from the King of France, the Abbot of Fécamp by name, who was corpulent, had arrived. The King being in his palace of Westminster, determined to give him audience, and sent for him. The abbot announced the receipt by his King of a letter from King Henry, requesting friendship and peace, and stated that his King had sent him to confirm the said peace. Thereupon King Henry took offence, and, turning towards his attendants, exclaimed, "Who wrote this letter? I ask peace of the King of France, who dare not look me in the face, still less make war on me!!" With this he rose, nor would he hear any more; so the ambassador withdrew. After this, "tilting at the ring" took place. The French ambassador was invited to be present, but no place having been reserved for him upon a stage erected for guests, he departed in dudgeon. The King, however, had him recalled, and caused a cushion to be given him, and he sat down. In short, King Henry holds France in small account.

On the receipt of letters from the Signory announcing the taking of Padua, Badoer had sent one of his household to communicate this intelligence to the King.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 60.

**12. The DÔGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.**

The Emperor is still in the Paduan territory, accompanied by the French, Papal, and Ferrarese forces, perpetrating against Christians such cruelties that greater could not be committed by Infidels. Following the suggestions of the King of England, have endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the Emperor, but the latter is kept so close by the King of France as not to be allowed either to deliberate or to do what would prove for his welfare. The King of France is also the cause of the Pope's bitter and continued enmity to them, and has also sent ambassadors to the King of Hungary, and made the Pope urge the King of Hungary to break his confederacy with Venice and invade its territory. Desire him (Badoer) to make this announcement to the King (of England) and add that there is no other Christian sovereign besides his Majesty who attends to the welfare of the Christian commonwealth, and that they have therefore placed their whole hope in him. To hint to the King that he has already lost the convenience derived from their galleys, which they are unable to send, because the King of France has a fleet at sea to intercept them. Therefore, either a general peace should be made, or the King should effect a reconciliation between the Emperor and them, so that, being united,—the King of England beyond the Alps, and the Emperor and the Signory in Italy,—they

1509. Aug. 30. *French Library*  
v. 12. p. 60.  
IO. MORTON MADE BY THE BARRON (in the Senate) and sent  
for a letter to Andrew Bardon, the ambassador in England, instructing  
him to go to the King, request him with the name of events, and  
request him to attack France. Should the King choose a paper  
with or aid from the Signory, Bardon to offer the same.

[Added]

1509. Sept. 2. *French Library*  
v. 12. p. 122.  
II. REPORT OF LETTERS FROM THE AMBASSADOR ANDREW BARDON  
in England, dated -- August. An ambassador from the King of  
France, the Abbot of Fécamp by name, who was corpulent, had  
arrived. The King being in his palace of Westminster, determined  
to give him audience, and sent for him. The abbot answered the  
receipt by his King of a letter from King Henry, requesting friend-  
ship and peace, and stated that his King had sent him to maintain  
the said peace. Thereupon King Henry took offense, and turning  
towards his attendants, exclaimed, "Who wrote this letter? I am  
peace of the King of France, who dare not look me in the face, still  
less make war on me!" With this he rose, nor would he hear  
any more; so the ambassador withdrew. After this, "William the  
first" took place. The French ambassador was invited to be per-  
sented, but no place having been reserved for him upon a stage erected  
for guests, he departed in disgust. The King, however, had him  
recalled, and caused a cushion to be given him, and he sat down.  
In short, King Henry holds France in small account.  
On the receipt of letters from the Signory announcing the taking  
of Padua, Bardon had sent one of his household to communicate  
this intelligence to the King.

[Added]

1509. Sept. 14. *French Library*  
v. 12. p. 60.  
12. THE DOOR AND SEATE TO ANDREW BARDON AMBASSADOR  
in England.  
The Emperor is still in the Paduan territory, accompanied by the  
French, Papal, and Venetian forces, preparing against Christian-  
much cruelties that greater could not be committed by his life.  
Following the suggestions of the King of England, have endeavored  
to effect a reconciliation with the Emperor, but the latter is bent on  
close by the King of France as not to be allowed either to deliberate  
or to do what would prove for his welfare. The King of France is  
also the cause of the Pope's bitter and continued enmity to them,  
and has also sent ambassadors to the King of Hungary, and made  
the Pope urge the King of Hungary to break his embassy with  
Venice and invade its territory. Desires him (Bardon) to make this  
announcement to the King (of England) and add that there is no  
other Christian sovereign besides his Majesty who attends to the  
welfare of the Christian commonwealth, and that they have there-  
fore placed their whole hope in him. To hint to the King that  
he has already lost the conquests derived from their galaxy, which  
they are unable to send, because the King of France has a list of  
see to intercept them. Therefore, either a general peace should  
be made, or the King should effect a reconciliation between the  
Emperor and them, so that being united--the King of England  
beyond the Alps and the Emperor and the Signory in Italy--they



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would straiten the King of France in such a manner as to humble his present haughtiness. The Emperor and the Signory being now powerfully armed, the King could never have a finer opportunity for conquering France, like King Henry of glorious memory, and revenging himself on his most natural enemies. Were the King to attack France, the Pope and his Catholic Majesty (Ferdinand) would declare themselves against France. To press these considerations upon the King, and to perform the like office with all such leading members of the Privy Council as shall seem fit to him.

[*Italian*, 61 lines.]

Sept. 15.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. ix. p. 133.

13. RECEIPT OF LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER in England, dated the 2nd instant, how he had been in the King of England's presence, and good greeting was given him; and how his Majesty is the enemy of France, and other conversations held together. They were, in short, favourable letters.

[*Italian*.]

Sept. 29.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. ix. p. 158.

14. RECEIPT OF LETTERS from the SAME.

Had received the State's letters. Will go to the King. Announces the departure of the French ambassador, who was not in favour with the King, who had desired that King Lewis might send him the tribute, &c. The ambassador told him the tribute had been sent to his father. The King replied: "My father is me, and I am my father; so I choose to have it at any rate."

Also other details, to the effect that the King is not on good terms with France.

[*Italian*.]

Oct. 2.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 64.

15. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Relate the raising of the siege of Padua by the Emperor and his retreat towards Vicenza and Bassano.

[*Italian*, 58 lines.]

Oct. 23.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. ix. p. 215.

16. RECEIPT OF STALE LETTERS FROM ENGLAND: nothing of importance.

[*Italian*.]

Nov. 15.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 83,  
tergo.

17. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Hear with regret that some of the letters from the State arrive open, although bearing the countersign suggested by him,—that some are detained,—and that others miscarry. Have therefore addressed all letters to the consul Lorenzo Pasqualigo. Have also seen the copies of the missives addressed by the King to the Emperor and to the King of France respectively. Wish they had been written in better form, especially the one to the Emperor. Would have desired that this last should have seemed written by the King *motu proprio*, and not at their request and suit. Not having seen the copies, do not know whether those written to the Pope and to the Catholic King





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are of the like or of another tenor. Nevertheless he is to thank the King and request him to continue reconciling them to the Emperor, with whom, after his departure from Padua, they did not fail to attempt negotiations.

As in his letter of the 10th he undertook to contrive that his Majesty should spontaneously offer the Signory a loan of some hundreds of thousands of ducats, tell him that it would be very acceptable to them, should he see the possibility of making such a bargain, so that the offer proceed from his Majesty, and without the Signory appearing to make the demand. With regard to remitting the money to Venice, bills of exchange, provided the transaction offer some profit, would afford an easy mode.

Are well satisfied as to the 150 ducats for which he drew on account of the heralds dispatched [with the letters], but repeat they could have wished the letters had been written in another form, especially as the secretaries came to his house to show him the drafts; and, although money is very scarce, feel no regret when they know that it is spent profitably. Are expecting to learn the reply brought by the herald who went to France for the safeconduct for the galleys, that they may be enabled to decide about sending them in the spring, as is their wish; so he is to give most careful notice of the whole.

Postscript.—Inform him of the retreat of the Emperor towards Trent, and the recovery of Vicenza.

[*Italian*, 52 lines.]

Dec. 2.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. ix. pp. 284,  
285.

18. RECEIPT OF A MESSAGE (*uno avviso*) addressed to the ambassador in Rome, the Doctor Hironimo Donado, by a friend of his in England, whereby it seems that the King of Scotland and the King of England have made peace and league together against France; nay, that he (*sic*) is said to have dismissed a French ambassador. It also seems that the paragraph in the letter ended thus:—"Tell Misier Hironimo we have undoubted victory against France."

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 3.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 91,  
tergo.

19. The DOGE and SENATE to their AMBASSADORS in ROME. Are of opinion that every convenience for negotiating and concluding peace will be now afforded, as they suppose that the reverend ambassador of the King of England has arrived.

[*Italian*, 62 lines.]

Dec. 3.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 92,  
tergo.

20. The SAME to the SAME (second letter). To visit the reverend Bishop (*sic*) of York (Bainbridge), ambassador of the King of England, who is to arrive there shortly, in the Signory's name; to set forth the love and good will which the State bears his King; to make him such general offers as becoming; and to endeavour to win him to the Signory.

[*Italian*, 36 lines.]

Dec. 7.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. ix. p. 293.

21. PERUSAL in the SENATE, in the afternoon, of letters from Rome from the ambassadors, dated the 26th November. On the 24th, the English ambassador, the Archbishop of York, arrived with — horses,





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and was met by the ambassadors and by the Pope's attendants and cardinals as usual. When he arrived at his house, the Venetian ambassadors sent to tell him they would have gone to meet him to do their duty, in token of the Signory's observance towards the King of England, but on account of the excommunication dared not, because the Pope willed it thus. The Archbishop gave great greeting to the secretary, and accepted their apologies, saying that his King was all for the Signory, would attack France, and had written letters in favour of the Signory, &c. He had also brought a letter to the Pope from the King in favour of the Signory. The Pope was ill. Some said he fell sick on seeing the letter.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 7.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. ix.  
pp. 294, 295.

**22.** RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER, dated London, 9th November. The King of England had made peace with his brother-in-law the King of Scotland. He (the King of England) had also dispatched envoys with letters both to France and to Spain in favour of the Signory; and had in like manner written to the Pope according to the copy of the letter already received. The envoy to France has apparently returned, and was supposed not to have brought a favourable reply; and the King of England, having convoked Parliament for the 21st January about French affairs, will not now it seems delay hostilities. The report is that he means to attack France, and to send troops across, so that the talk is of war. The ambassador requests remittances; cannot get money there. It also seems that the King was somewhat indisposed.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 8.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 96,  
tergo.

**23.** The DOGE and SENATE to their AMBASSADORS in ROME.

To continue to keep on friendly terms with the English ambassador, and visit him frequently with marks of honour and regard, so that the love and friendship subsisting between his King and the Signory may be notorious to all.

[*Italian, 31 lines. By a note in the Register at the foot of this letter, it was apparently not sent; the ballots in its favour being 61, whereas an amendment in favour of delay numbered 94.*]

Dec. 21.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 98.

**24.** The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Have received his letters of the 8th November, enclosing copies of the King's letters to the Pope and to his Catholic Majesty, and the reply of the latter. Are much satisfied with all of them, and desire him to thank the King, assuring him that he has conferred his favours on a state which will not forget them, and which will link their fortunes entirely with his. To commend all that the King suggested to the Catholic King, his "father and father-in-law, namely, to beware of rendering the King of France so powerful, lest hereafter detriment might ensue to the Spanish possessions in Italy. To exhort the King not to neglect so great an opportunity for the conquest of a crown whose title he bears, assuring him that, should he undertake this expedition against his capital and natural





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enemy the King of France, they will so straiten the latter in Italy, that he (the King of England) will find it very easy to obtain what they propose, and gain as much praise and glory as have ever fallen to the lot of any other King of England. Would be glad to hear that the undertaking had been actually commenced; and to facilitate matters as aforesaid, he (Badoer) is to pray the King to continue his intercession for their reconciliation with the Emperor, whom they have not failed to acquaint with their observance, and wish for an alliance with him; to which effect they have sent two ambassadors to Feltre, there to confer with two others appointed by the Emperor, and to offer the aid of all their forces should the Emperor attack the Milanese. Are convinced that, if the King of England will persevere in his good offices, his authority will cause the Emperor to join him, Spain, and Venice, and such others as the King of England shall think fit; but if the King of England attack France, they would, even if unable to make terms with the Emperor, join England, Spain, and such others as shall be thought fit, against France. Is also to request the King to persevere in the like office with the Pope, through his ambassador at Rome, and to do his utmost to alienate his Holiness from France. To thank the King for the offers made by the Archbishop of York to the Venetian ambassadors in Rome. They have charged these ambassadors to make demonstrations of friendship towards the Archbishop. Trust that the King will give the Pope and all the other Christian princes to understand that the Signory will not fail to help themselves by all means possible. Relate the progress of the war in the North of Italy. The Signory have recovered Vicenza, Feltre, Cividale di Belluno, and La Scala, and have executed reprisals against the Duke of Ferrara, for his occupation of the Polesine of Rovigo, Montelice, Este, Montagnana, and Castelbaldo, and the destruction of the dikes on the Adige in the Paduan territory.

[*Italian, 59 lines.*]

Dec. 22.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 99.

**25. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.**

The missives addressed by the King of England to the Pope and to the Catholic King, were to their satisfaction, but could have wished the missives for the Pope to have been in better form, especially the passage in the following terms:—"After his Holiness has obtained his places and towns, and after the other confederate powers in like manner shall get possession of well nigh all those places to which they lay claim;"—because this furnishes matter for his Holiness to reply that the Emperor has not obtained that to which he lays claim. Remind him (Badoer) of the instructions he has received to keep Don Pietro Carmeliano on good terms with the Signory, and to exhort him to persevere in the good office he has commenced, in aiding their affairs, for which service they will give him cause to remain satisfied with the Signory. Ludovic della Mirandola, commander in chief of the troops of the Duke of Ferrara, has been shot before a Venetian bastion on the Po. Is to announce this fact





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to the King and such other persons as he shall think fit, and to congratulate his Majesty on the pregnancy of the Queen. Enclose their letters of thanks to the King.

[*Italian, 27 lines.*]

Dec. 27. 26. RECEIPT OF LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER, Sanuto Diaries, dated London, 14th November. Had been ill of fever, and had v. ix. p. 327. pawned his plate, being unable to find any one who would give him money on bills of exchange.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 29. 27. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADORS at the [PAPAL] COURT.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlii. p. 102.

Should they deem the mediation of the English ambassador (whom the Signory considers a good instrument) calculated to remove difficulties and arrange matters, they are at liberty to employ it in their discretion.

[*Italian, 64 lines.*]

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Jan. 5.

Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 106.

28. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Sent him on the 21st ult., by way of Rome, three letters, two of which were in cipher, directed as usual to the consul, but intended for the ambassador. Announced thereby a conference between their two ambassadors and those of the Emperor at Hospedaleto, not far from the State's territory of Feltre, when the Imperialists intimated that the Venetians were not to propose any terms at variance with the articles of the League of Cambrai, the Emperor not choosing to swerve from his confederacy with the King of France. The Signory's ambassadors being expressly charged to propose to the Emperor the expulsion from Italy of the King of France, his natural and capital enemy, they, after some negotiation and delay, for the sake of being reconciled to the Emperor, made a proposal to him which was not inconsistent with the League of Cambrai, namely, to pay to the Emperor a reasonable tribute for such towns and places as had been allotted him by that League. Whilst this last negotiation was on foot, received his (Badoer's) letters of the 26th and 28th November and 4th December. Understood that the King of England proposed to mediate in their behalf with the Emperor by means of Lady Margaret, and inquired whether he had their authority to act to that effect. This proposition is most satisfactory to them; therefore they charge him (Badoer) to acquaint the King with their most grateful acceptance of it, and also with the particulars of the conference at Hospedaleto. Desire him (Badoer) to show that it would be not less to the King's advantage than their own to use his (the King's) great influence by means of the Lady Margaret to detach the Emperor wholly from the King of France.





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Wish they had known the King's intention before they sent their ambassadors to Hospedaleto; and not knowing what may be the result of the conference there, desire him (Badoer) to request the King not to fail doing as he proposed. Should they conclude anything at Hospedaleto they will transmit immediate information of it to England. He (Badoer) is to add, that they are willing, if the Emperor will attack Milan, to acknowledge his sovereignty, in the first place over such imperial towns as they possess, and likewise over those they have lost, by paying him suitable tribute; doing the like for such towns and places as they have been deprived of by the King of France in the present war, should the Emperor recover them and the duchy of Milan. Are also willing to aid the Emperor with all their forces; and he (Badoer) is to tell the King that if the Emperor will make peace with them, they will pay him 200,000 Rhenish guilders on such terms and at such periods as he may think fit; the moneys to be paid for recognition and investiture of the towns above mentioned, namely those actually in possession of the State, and those taken by the Emperor in the present war, of which scarcely any remain save Verona and a part of its territory, and also of the other towns and places formerly held by the State, and now occupied by the King of France.

Should this proposition not be accepted, will make a new proposition as follows:—To give the Emperor 50,000 Rhenish florins for ten consecutive years only, for the recognition and investiture of all the aforesaid towns and places. To forward the attack on the King of France, would, immediately after the concluding and signing the peace, give the Emperor 100,000 florins, that is to say, two years' subsidy, besides the aid of the Signory's men-at-arms, of which the Emperor might dispose as of his own, for the benefit of the confederation.

All this they announce confidentially to the King of England for his government, and pray him, now that he is acquainted with the whole, to be pleased to act. To this effect therefore they send him (Badoer) a very ample power (*syndicato*) that he may conclude such an agreement with the Emperor as may be settled by the King and the Lady Margaret. As it is possible that the Emperor may not choose to come to a rupture with the King of France, in that case only, he (Badoer) is to acquaint the King of England that they will make acknowledgment to the Emperor for the towns and places assigned him as his share by the League of Cambrai; give a fitting sum either for the investiture, or as tribute; and forthwith—considering that he (Badoer) has written that it would be highly advantageous for the State to conclude the affair in England—are content that with regard to the investiture or tribute, the King of England shall make such arrangement as shall seem fitting to him, as they rely on the good will he bears the State, &c.; wherefore he (Badoer) is to pray him to use his authority and to conclude.

Moreover, as to thwart the designs of the King of France the State is aware of the necessity for its union not only with the Emperor, but with England, Spain, and the Lady Margaret, or with such of them as the King of England shall think fit—he (Badoer) is





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to urge the King to cement a good understanding and league between all the parties, and they empower him (Badoer) to negotiate the league forthwith, with articles to be approved by the State. Impress on him the necessity of zeal and vigilance, and frequent correspondence with the State.

Order for the power (*syndicatus*) to be made out in sufficient and ample form. The ambassador, if unable, on account of illness, to execute the order as above, is to communicate it to the consul in London, Lorenzo Pasqualigo. Bills of exchange for 300 ducats to be sent to the ambassador.

Ayes, 153. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, the last paragraph Latin, 96 lines.*]

Jan. 5.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 107.

29. POWER from DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO, in favour of Andrea Badoer, ambassador with Henry VIII., authorising him to conclude peace with Maximilian, Emperor elect, or with his delegates; and also to negotiate a confederacy with said Emperor, with Henry King of England, with Ferdinand the Catholic King of Arragon, and with the widow Lady Margaret, the Emperor's daughter, or any of them, one or more, or with their delegates: the Doge, Senate, and Signory promising their ratification, &c. The power is extended, in case of need, to the consul Lorenzo Pasqualigo. Sealed with a leaden seal, and dated from the Ducal Palace, 5 January, xlii. Indiction, 1509 [-10].

[*Latin, 40 lines.*]

Jan. 6.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 107.

30. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND. Relate the recovery of the Polesine by Venice. Give details of a successful attack on the Venetian fleet in the Po by the Duke of Ferrara, with forces of his own, of the Pope, and of France. Have resolved to collect a more powerful fleet, and elected a new captain general, namely, the nobleman Piero Balbi, who had been bailiff at Padua. Send these details for his information, that he may be able to contradict false reports. Understand the good offices used by the "friend." He (Badoer) is to thank him in the State's name, and promise him that should there be any good result, they will show themselves grateful. Is to do the like by D. Pietro Carmeliano.

[*Italian, 29 lines.*]

Jan. 7.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 108.

31. The DOGE and SENATE to MOCENIGO and CORNARO, the Ambassadors at Hospedaleto.

Should the Emperor's representatives be dissatisfied with the Signory's proposition, the Doge and Senate are content to refer the questions of the investiture and the tribute for the aforesaid towns to the King of England. Should they still remain dissatisfied, Mocenigo and Cornaro are to take time for a reference to Venice.

[*Italian, 31½ lines.*]

Jan. 10.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 109.

32. The DOGE and SENATE to MOCENIGO and CORNARO on their departure from Hospedaleto.

To the same effect as the letter immediately preceding.

[*Italian, 36 lines.*]





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Jan. 12.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 110.

### 33. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Their ambassadors at the papal court have sent copies of letters from the King of England and his ambassador with the Pope [Archbishop of York] in favour of the Signory's affairs; they also mention the constant good offices used by the said ambassador with his Holiness. Charge him (Badoer) again to thank the King as becoming, and to inform him that it is reported at Venice that the King of France is making great preparations to come with all speed into Italy. Request the King of England therefore to forward the adjustment between the Signory and the Emperor, that they may unite together in time to resist the aggressions of France. Are of opinion that the remedy best calculated to cause the King of France to relinquish his Italian expedition, would be for the King of England to make a demonstration and military preparations in those parts (England). He (Badoer) is to persuade his Majesty to act accordingly.

The imperial ambassadors continue saying that the Emperor means to abide by the League of Cambrai; yet notwithstanding, to detach the Emperor from France, they have continued urging the ambassadors to press the Emperor to undertake the expedition against the duchy of Milan, and proved to them the great facility the Emperor would have for conquering it, when joined with them (the Venetians), and also for expelling the King of France from Italy. Perceiving however that the Emperor persists in not detaching himself from the temporary friendship of the French King, they maintain their original proposal of holding under him the towns and places assigned to him by the League of Cambrai. Have expressed their readiness to pay forthwith for the investiture of the same 100,000 florins, and an annual tribute of 100,000, for the sake of peace. Should this offer be not accepted, they are ready to abide by what shall be determined in this matter by the King of England, to the intent that he may act in such wise that the Emperor shall league with him, the King of Spain, the Lady Margaret, and the Signory, and undertake the expedition against the Milanese for the benefit of his grandchildren, or, for such others as to him shall seem fit.

Is to communicate the above to the King of England, and pray him to arrange their affairs with the Emperor, so that either united with him, or at least without any obstacle on his part, they may proceed to recover their territories now occupied by the King of France, and expel him from Italy; the King of England, on his side, doing the like to conquer France, that he may be the true king and lord of that country, and not merely bear an empty title.

[*Italian, 53 lines.*]

Jan. 14.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 110.

### 34. The DOGE and SENATE to the Ambassadors MOCENIGO and CORNARO.

Have received their letters dated Hospedaletto the 12th, at the 4th hour of the night.

To inform the imperial ambassadors that they have determined, for the investiture before mentioned, to give his Majesty 150,000





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florins, and a pension of 20,000 florins, a sum equal to the revenue of the towns, after deducting the necessary costs of men-at-arms, &c., as the State knows by experience. With regard to the observance of their word, which by God's grace had at all times been inviolate, should that not suffice, they are to tell the Emperor's ambassador that the King of England will give security and ample guarantee for them; as at all times he has sufficient Venetian property in the kingdom for the purpose.

Ayes 37.

[*Italian, 46½ lines.*]

Jan. 16.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 111.

**35. MOTION made in the SENATE, concerning an Embassy to England.**

Seeing that the interests of the Republic may be much advanced by the favour of the King of England, and that as he is well disposed towards the Signory nothing should be omitted that may tend to cultivate such a disposition—Put to the ballot, that an ambassador of note be elected to the King of England; to receive for his expenses 120 ducats monthly, without being obliged to account for the same. To take with him eight horses, including those for his own person, and for a secretary and his servant; and to be bound to depart when and with such commission as shall be ordered by the Senate.

Should this decree pass, the ambassadors at Feltre to obtain from the Emperor, through the imperial delegates, a safeconduct, where-with the ambassador elect may go in security on his mission; assuring the Emperor that the ambassador is going to congratulate the King on his coronation, and to reside with his Majesty, no less to the profit and honour of the Emperor than of the Signory. Notice hereof to be given to the Venetian ambassadors in Rome, to transmit the intelligence to the ambassador in England, that he may announce the present resolve to the King.

Ayes, 150. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 0.

Elected "Ser" Francesco Capello, knight.

[*Italian, 18 lines.*]

Jan. 16.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 111.

**36. The DOGE and SENATE to the Ambassadors MOCENIGO and CORNARO, on the eve of departure from Feltre.**

Desire them to offer the imperial delegates, for the Emperor, 150,000 florins on account of investiture, and an annual tribute of 20,000 florins; will also contrive that the King of England give his security. Refute the charge of dilatoriness, by the offer already made to conclude at once, leaving the amount of money to be settled by the King of England.

[*Italian, 66 lines.*]

Jan. 27.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xlii. p. 118.

**37. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADORS at ROME.**

Have received their four letters of the 19th, 22nd, and 23rd, at the 4th hour of the night, too late to reply. In the meantime to thank the English ambassador, Archbishop of York, for the loving communications made by him.

[*Italian, 64 lines.*]





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Feb. 19.  
*Sanuto Diaries,*  
 v. ix. p. 420.

**38. RECEIPT of MERCHANTS' LETTERS**, dated London, 14th January, how the French ambassador was at length come with the tribute of 50,000 crowns, and had audience of the King on the 13th. Announce also the arrival of a Spanish ambassador, and other details, so that matters with France are supposed to be arranged, and it was thought that nothing more would come of the preparations made for Candlemas day. Anxiety felt at Venice on this account, the hope of aid from England vanishing. Trust that the Pope may do something. It is said that the King of France will not come into Italy this year.

[*Italian.*]

March 1.  
*Sanuto Diaries,*  
 v. x. p. 12.

**39. MEETING of the SENATE** in the afternoon, and reading of letters from Rome. First of the 22nd of February, how the ambassadors were sending letters from England written by the ambassador [Badoer] on the 4th February, and that the English ambassador [Archbishop of York] has informed the Pope that his King is at peace with the King of Scotland, and does not mean to league with any one, either against Christians or Infidels, without including the Signory of Venice. The King of England had also written to the Pope praying him to absolve "the Venetians, his friends, from the excommunication," the copy of which letter was read in the Senate, and reached Rome two days before the excommunication was raised; so the Bishop (*sic*) of York, the English ambassador there, uses his good offices with the Pope in favour of the Signory.

Reading of letters from Andrea Badoer, ambassador in England, dated 4th February; how he is in favour with the King, who gave him a dinner and shows him much affection, and has written to the Pope, praying him to raise the excommunication, most especially as the State had tendered obedience. Apparent adjustment between England and Scotland. Good will of King Henry towards Venice, and other details. Letter in cipher.

[*Italian.*]

March 1.  
*Sanuto Diaries,*  
 v. x. p. 3.

**40. SUMMARY of a LETTER from PAULO CAPELLO**, Ambassador at Rome, dated 24th February.

Account of the absolution of the Signory on that day by the Pope. Hopes all will go well. Confirmation of the news from England to that effect, the English ambassador having, moreover, told his Holiness that the King of England will never join any league, public or private, or against the Infidels, without the Signory of Venice, with expressions as strong and as encouraging as possible.

[*Italian.*]

March 1.  
*Deliberazioni*  
*Senato,*  
 v. xliii. p. 2.

**41. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADORS in ROME.**

By their letters of the 23rd ultimo perceive that they had conferred with the English ambassador, the Archbishop of York; and as besides the letters written by the King of England to the Pope in favour of the Signory's affairs, he had announced to them the triple league which he considers to have been made between the King of England, the King of Scotland, and the Signory, they are to





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attest to the reverend ambassador the satisfaction felt by them at such an understanding, which they hold as ratified; nor can anything be more desirable than to render manifest to the whole world by a new and special union the natural friendship ever borne by the Signory towards the late Kings of England, but especially to the memory of his present Majesty's father, and by so much the more to the King himself, on account of what has actually been done by him *motu proprio* in favour of the Signory's interests. For this thank him to the utmost, and in addition are grateful for all the affection and promptitude which they recognise to their benefit in the reverend ambassador.

Ayes, 145. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 17 lines.*]

March 2.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 2.

42. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADORS in ROME.

After making such arrangements as shall seem fit to them (the ambassadors) with the Archbishop of York, they are to contrive to have a conference with the Pope and to enumerate the many advantages which may be promised to himself and all Italy through the union of the two kings and of the Signory with his Holiness, including the benefit of indubitably repressing the haughtiness and pride of the French.

Ayes, 126. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 11 lines.*]

March 2.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 3.

43. DUCAL MISSIVE from DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to King HENRY VIII. (*Calendared from Rymer by Mr. Brewer, vol. i. p. 141, no. 932.*)

[*Latin, 30 lines.*]

March 2.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xliii. p. 8.

44. MOTION made in the SENATE for a letter to Badoer, ambassador in England, desiring him to thank the King for the letter sent to Rome; and to urge him to write to the Emperor for a safe-conduct for Francesco Capello, knight, ambassador elect to England.

In a former letter, Badoer having been told to inform the King, that the State was willing to give the Emperor 100,000 florins, which sum was subsequently increased to 150,000, the "sage" of the Council, Zorzi Emo, and seven colleagues therefore moved that the *whole* amount be communicated to the King.

Amendment proposed by Marco Bolani and five other "sages," that nothing be said about the addition.

For the motion, Ayes 90.

For the amendment, „ 30.

[*Italian.*]

March 2.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 3,  
tergo.

45. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Many conferences have been held between the imperial commissioners and those of the Signory, and after much dispute on both sides, the Imperialists departed without having come to any conclusion, though the readiness of the Signory to refer every dispute to the arbitration of the King of England was declared to them.





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Understand that the Emperor is gone into Germany to the Diet. Have not thought fit to make any further motion, but wait to hear what the King of England may have done for the arrangement of their affairs.

Have received his (Badoer's) letters from the last day of January down to 4th February. Take note of his conferences with the Privy Council, whence they derive proof of an excellent disposition on the part of the King and all England towards the Signory, which accords well with the sentiments of the State towards his Majesty and the entire nation.

Have, moreover, proofs of this through the King's efficient operations in favour of the Signory's interests; and as the Bishop of Winchester had expressed surprise to him (Badoer) that no answer was received to what the King proposed to them, express their conviction that the contents of their letters of the 6th January, will have convinced the King and all his councillors of their good will, and of the account in which they hold his Majesty; and that he will be satisfied with the State and not fail in his good offices with the Emperor and the Diet, as he did not fail in the case of the Pope; yet they charge him (Badoer) to confer with the King and with that privy councillor of his, apologizing in the State's name for the delay of the letters, as caused solely by the difficulties and length of the road, they not having failed to write and reply with all possible speed; but suppose that many of the letters have been intercepted. Is to return the most ample thanks to the King for his great exertions in behalf of the State, of which they will never be unmindful; and to present him with the accompanying missive to that effect; giving him to comprehend that, under favour of his letters and of the good operations of his ambassador in Rome, the Archbishop of York, on Sunday last, 24 February, the Pope gave the State his blessing; embracing them as his most devoted children, which they are, as the King will understand by the brief of his Holiness, who says he has already despatched it. Have, moreover, not chosen to contend with the Pope, but have abided by the sage counsel of his Majesty. Deem it very much to the purpose, that the King should persevere (as they are convinced he will) in adjusting their affairs with the Emperor, and induce him to undertake the expulsion of the French from Italy, as necessary for the universal quiet. Do not doubt but that it will be easy for his Majesty to effect this adjustment, by reason of his great authority and relationship with the Emperor, and in consideration of the liberal terms offered so much to the advantage of the latter.

Is above all to request the King to press the negotiation, and effect the conclusion of the league between the Emperor and the State, with the intervention of such other parties as to the King may seem fit; nor does the matter admit of delay, as most prudently hinted by the King, whom he (Badoer) is to request to solicit the Catholic King to join this league, the State being very certain that the latter must be favourably inclined towards it. To assure the King (of England), in contradiction of the false assertion made by the French ambassador, that although they have a powerful army, yet now in the spring they continue to augment it with a large number of men-at-arms, and are fitting out an efficient fleet, not merely





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for self-defence, but also to enable them to attack; and they will do much more if they meet with allies.

To tell the King that on the 16th January they elected another honourable ambassador to his Majesty, in addition to himself (Badoer), namely, the nobleman "Ser" Francesco Capello, knight, to congratulate the King on his coronation, and to do him honour, showing thus to the whole world the account in which the State holds him. Wrote also immediately to their ambassadors at Feltre, desiring them to communicate this resolve to the ambassadors of the Emperor, and to try and obtain from him a safeconduct for Capello. Have hitherto received no reply; otherwise would have already despatched him. Is therefore to request the King to obtain this safeconduct, and also one from the Lady Margaret, as immediately on obtaining them the ambassador will set out.

Moreover charge him to inform the King (of England) that the Archbishop of York has imparted to their ambassadors at Rome the particulars of the conference held by him with the Pope in the presence of the Spanish ambassador; and has notified to them that the King of England and the King of Scotland had a good understanding with the Signory, and would not contract a league with any power without the intervention of the State; also that he (the Archbishop) has exhorted the Pope to become a party to the union through the Signory's mediation, which seemed very agreeable to his Holiness; so he (Badoer) is to thank the King in the amplest terms.

Finally, he (Badoer) is to thank the Bishop of Winchester in their name for the affectionate letters written to the Pope in favour of the State.

Ayes, 34.

Amendment to insert a paragraph directing the ambassador to inform the King of the Signory's increased offers of money to the Emperor, to which he has made no answer before going to the Diet, and the Signory's intention to await the resolution of the Diet, and hear what King Henry shall have done.

And another in reply to his communication that the Venetian ambassadors were to be admitted to the Diet; to say, that the Signory has received no notice to this effect; and that if they had, they would have gladly availed themselves of the opportunity of justifying their proceedings before the Emperor and all the princes of Germany.

Ayes, 93. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*, 117 lines.]

March 4.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 13.

46. MOTION made in the SENATE to write to the Ambassador Badoer in England, that besides the 150,000 florins offered to the Emperor for the investiture of the towns, and 25,000 florins annually, the State gives the King of England ample power to arrange the matter, and will abide by what his Majesty shall say.

Proposed amendment—To adhere to the motion made by Zorzi Emo in the Senate on the 2nd instant.

For the motion, Ayes 71.

For the amendment, „ 61.

[*Italian*.]





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March 5.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliiii. p. 5,  
tergo.

47. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Desire to modify the narrative contained in their letter of the 2nd as follows, and therefore charge him to omit the exordium therein, and say to the King as follows:—That after the announcement made on the 12th January, the State's ambassadors had several conferences with the imperialists, and after much discussion, it being impossible to effect any good result, the Venetians repeated that they were willing to refer all their disputes with the Emperor for arbitration to England; and being unable to obtain the assent of the imperialists, they then offered for the investiture an increase of the proposal made according to the letter dated 12th January; thus, 150,000 Rhenish florins in all, and for the tribute 20,000 annually. Being unable to tempt the imperialists by any offer, the Venetians departed *re infectâ*; having proposed this because the Signory perceived that the Pope made many difficulties about raising the interdict. His Holiness having now indeed embraced them as his most devoted children, and the Republic perceiving the efficient operations of the King, and his great good will and affection for the State, they deem it very fitting with all ingenuousness to acquaint him with the whole through him (Badoer).

Ayes, 73.

Proposed amendment to abide by the decree passed in the Senate on the day before yesterday.

Ayes, 61. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian*, 32 lines.]

March 15.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliiii. p. 7,  
tergo.

48. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Desire him to inform the Pope that a French prisoner of rank, one of those released by the State, said to a Venetian nobleman, that as there was one sole God in heaven, so ought his King to be alone on earth. Desire to express their firm conviction, that should his Holiness form a league with the State, both the Emperor and the Kings of England and Spain, and all other Christian powers, would not fail to join him, and thus he would be enabled to release from such slavery not only his own very dear country [Genoa], but also the whole of Italy, and by all he would deservedly be styled "*verus pater patriæ*."

Repetition of the last offers made by the Republic to the Emperor, and of the reference to the King of England.

Ayes, 108.

[*Italian*, 100 lines.]

March 17.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliiii. p. 8,  
tergo.

49. The SAME to the SAME.

Acknowledge receipt of his letters dated Civita Vecchia the 12th, communicating his conferences with the Pope. Desire him to thank his Holiness in the most lavish terms, and to extol his wisdom in foreseeing and anticipating the coming danger; to continue to expose the enmity and ambition of the King of France, against which no fitter measures can be taken than the two suggested by his Holiness. With reference to the first, the ambassador is to persuade the Pope to persevere in preventing the King of England





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from making any agreement with France, and to alienate him from King Lewis. On this account the State approve the mission of D. Christopher [Fisher],\* with an ample commission, and of such a nature as the Pope will know how to devise; making, moreover, ample promises not merely to him [Fisher], but to all the privy councillors, for the purpose of counteracting the practices of France. The other remedy is that of detaching the Emperor Maximilian from the King of France, and bringing him over to the Signory's side. They greatly commend all that his Holiness has done and promised to do, and likewise his intention of making an alliance with the Swiss.

Allude to the offers made by them to the Emperor, which he ought to accept, for he is undoubtedly betrayed by the French King.

Mention that, through their own ambassadors and the imperial commissioners, they had requested a safeconduct from the Emperor for an ambassador of theirs destined for England, but the Emperor had refused. Hope, nevertheless, that on hearing the Pope's intention, he will become more accommodating, most especially when persuaded by the Cardinal of Gurk at the suggestion of the Pope; who, were he to gain over the Emperor's daughter, the Lady Margaret, to the cause of Italy, would greatly advance the matter in hand.

Believe the King of France to be collecting money, not so much for his Italian expedition as from his fear of England.

Letters to be written to the ambassador in England, in conformity with the foregoing.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 85 lines.*]

Second letter of same date, desiring the ambassador to forward the enclosures, which were of importance, to the consul in London, through the Archbishop of York, as usual.

March 17.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 10.

50. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

In case the reconciliation with the Emperor has not yet been effected, the instructions in their letters of the 5th are repeated. The only check on the inordinate ambition of the French King is the dread of the King of England. The King of France means nothing but mischief to the Emperor. The King of England should continue (as he has done hitherto) to keep France in fear of invasion from him, and should carry out the league with Scotland and other powers, as before mentioned. To effect this, he (Badoer) is to avail himself of the support of the English privy councillors, to whom the State promises its gratitude. He is to insist on the good terms on which the Republic is with the Pope, and on the immortal glory which the King would thus obtain; and to acquaint him with the strength of the Signory's army and navy.

[*Italian, 39 lines.*]

\* See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. nos. 880, 982, and 983.

from making any agreement with France, and to assist him from King Lewis. On this account the State approve the mission of Christopher [Fisher], with an ample commission, and of such a nature as the Pope will know how to devise; making, moreover, ample promises not merely to him [Fisher], but to all the party concerned, for the purpose of countervailing the promises of France. The other remedy is that of detaching the Emperor Maximilian from the King of France, and bringing him over to the Signory's side. They greatly commend all that his Holiness has done and proposed to do, and likewise his intention of making an alliance with the Swiss.

Allude to the offer made by them to the Emperor, which he ought to accept, for he is undoubtedly betrayed by the French King. Mention that, through their own ambassadors and the Imperial commissioners, they had requested a ambassador from the Emperor for an ambassador of their destined for England, but the Emperor had refused. Hope, nevertheless, that on hearing the Pope's intention, he will become more accommodating, most especially when persuaded by the Cardinal of Guise at the suggestion of the Pope, who were he to gain over the Emperor's daughter, the Lady Margaret, to the cause of Italy, would greatly advance the matter in hand.

Believe the King of France to be collecting money, not so much for his Italian expedition as from his fear of England. Letters to be written to the ambassador in England, in conformity with the foregoing.

Aves 157. Nov. 7. Neutral. G.

[Latin, 85 lines.]

Second letter of same date, desiring the ambassador to forward the enclosures which were of importance to the court in London, through the Archbishop of York, as usual.

50. The Duke and Duchess to ANTHONY BURNES, Ambassador in England.

In case the reconciliation with the Emperor has not yet been effected the instructions in their letters of the 5th are repeated. The only check on the inordinate ambition of the French King is the dread of the King of England. The King of France means nothing but mischief to the Emperor. The King of England should continue (as he has done hitherto) to keep France in fear of invasion from him, and should carry out the league with Scotland and other powers as before mentioned. To effect this he [Burnes] is to avail himself of the support of the English party connected with the State, promote its greatness. He is to insist on the good terms on which the Republic is with the Pope, and on the immortal glory which the King will thus obtain; and to represent him with the strength of the Signory's army and navy.

[Latin, 35 lines.]



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March 23.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 10,  
tergo.

# 51. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Repeat their obligations to the Pope for his paternal love to the State, and for the wisdom displayed by him for the preservation of Italy from the dangers threatened by the barbarians (*da barbari*), especially in his practices with the King of England—a diversion more efficacious than any other. As a preparatory step, nothing could be more suitable than the form of the brief written to the King of England in anticipation of D. Christopher's mission, which will be efficacious in proportion as it is speedily executed. Is therefore respectfully to urge the Pope to dispatch D. Christopher [Fisher] immediately with opportune instructions.

Last of all is to forward the accompanying letters from the State to England. Enclose a copy for his information, and desire him, whenever an opportunity offers, to write such intelligence to Badoer as he shall deem expedient, using the enclosed cipher, adopted for his correspondence with the State, and addressing the letters to the consul, with the countersign which he will have remarked on those written by the Signory.

[*Italian*, 68 lines.]

April 1.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 61.

# 52. RECEIPT of LETTERS from ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England, dated 14th February.

Had received the Signory's letters and been to the King; details the conversation held with his Majesty, who is well inclined and uses his good offices. Is expecting an ambassador from his father-in-law the King of Spain, and another from France, besides the Abbot of Fécamp [Duprat] already there. News had also been received of the death of the King of Denmark and his son, so that the next heir was the King of Hungary.

Had also congratulated the King on the pregnancy of the Queen. The King thanked the Signory, and has written a letter to be sent by a herald to the King of the Romans, urging him to give audience to the Signory's ambassadors, and to negotiate a compact for the welfare of Christendom.

The ambassador also requests the Signory to send him money—his means are exhausted, he has neither plate nor anything else to pawn—the Venetian merchants will not accommodate him, and the cost of the herald will amount to 120 ducats.

From SAME, dated 23rd February, detained until 4th March. The two French ambassadors aforesaid had arrived: the first was the Abbot of Fécamp, then Mons. de Cerisolles, and lastly the Bailiff of Amiens,\* with eight carts (*carete*), said to contain chests full of silver to give to the King.

Had been to the King and found him well disposed towards the State. He said he was expecting a Spanish ambassador, and that he considers himself wronged by the King of the Romans, who has made an agreement with Spain that his (King Henry's) brother-in-law (*cognato*; *nephew*?), Duke Charles [of Burgundy], is not

\* In Rymer the names of these French commissioners are given thus, Abbot of Fescamps, Rad. de Lannoy, Ant. de Dauryzolles. See Mr. Brewer's Cal., vol. i. p. 145, no. 962.





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to enter Spain as King by hereditary right until 24 years of age.\* The Spanish ambassador was on his way to England but had stopped in Paris. Suspects he will be bribed by the King of France according to custom. The King had told him (Badoer), in conclusion, that he would not make any agreement save to the advantage of the Signory. The King of England was also awaiting a reply from France and Spain as to what he wrote about the Flanders galleys.

Recent intelligence had also been received from the French court, dated 12th February, that the King will not come into Italy this year, but remain on the northern frontier.

Repeats his demand for money.

In the first letters, replies to what had been written to him as to whether the King (of England) would lend the Signory money or jewels. Answers that it does not seem fit to him to introduce this topic, because a messenger from the Lady Margaret, who came to obtain a loan upon jewels, was refused, his Majesty having previously lent her a considerable sum on the armour of the late King Charles, and also accommodated others with money; so that he does not choose to do so any more.

Reading of the letter from the KING of ENGLAND to the EMPEROR, in reply apparently to one from Trent, dated 30th January: he writes in favour of the Signory, and urges the Emperor to give audience to the Venetian ambassadors, and to make terms.†

Reading of letters from HIERONIMO DONADO, Ambassador at the papal court.

In date of the 24th [March] writes that on the 22nd he dined with the Pope at "La Magnana." They discussed the league with Spain, England, the Emperor, and the Signory, and he thanked the Pope for the briefs sent to Spain and England.

On his return to Rome he forthwith communicated the whole to the English ambassador, who expressed satisfaction and said he had sent the brief to the King in the cover of a book, that it might not be discovered, for the French search all passengers. The ambassador said in conclusion, that his King will remain thus, and do nothing more. Was unable to see the Pope on the 23rd, but greatly encouraged the English ambassador, who promised to do what was proper with the Pope, and said King Lewis would not come into Italy this year, and that between England and France there would be neither peace nor war, both parties holding their own. Letters had been received from France, dated 4th March. The Spanish ambassador still in Paris. Dread that King Lewis will bribe him, as he does the whole world. Inference from Donado's letters that the Pope was not acquainted with the Signory's offers to the Emperor.

Memorandum.—That in Badoer's letters from England, dated 14th February, he mentioned having informed the King of the

\* Although Sanuto writes "*cognato*," Badoer evidently meant that King Ferdinand the Catholic was already jealous of his grandson, whose interests were advocated with the Emperor Maximilian by Henry VIII.

† Sanuto adds that he will transcribe the letter, but the copy does not exist in the Diaries.

to enter Spain as King by hereditary right until 25 years of age. The Spanish ambassador was on his way to England but had stopped in Paris, where he was with the King of France according to custom. The King had told him (Bador) in conclusion that he would not make any agreement save to the advantage of the Signory. The King of England was also awaiting a reply from France and Spain as to what he wrote about the Spanish claims. Recent intelligence had also been received from the French court dated 13th February, that the King will not come into Italy this year, but remain on the northern frontier.

Heaven's demand for money. In the first letter replies to what had been written to him as to whether the King (of England) would lend the Signory money or jewels. A reply that it does not seem fit to him to instruct this topic, because a messenger from the Lady Margaret, who came to obtain a loan upon jewels, was refused, his Majesty having previously lent her a considerable sum on the account of the late King Charles, and also accommodated others with money; so that he does not choose to do so any more.

Reading of the letter from the King of England to the Emperor, in reply apparently to one from Trent dated 30th January; he writes in favour of the Signory, and urges the Emperor to give audience to the Venetian ambassador, and to make terms.

Reading of letters from Hieronymo Ducas, Ambassador at the papal court.

In date of the 24th [March] writes that on the 22nd he dined with the Pope at "La Massima". They discussed the league with Spain, England, the Emperor, and the Signory, and he thanked the Pope for the letter sent to Spain and England.

On his return to Rome he further communicated the whole to the English ambassador, who expressed astonishment and he had sent the letter to the King in the cover of a book, that it might not be discovered for the French search all papers. The ambassador said in conclusion, that the King will remain there, and do nothing more. Was unable to see the Pope on the 23rd, but greatly commended the English ambassador, who presented to him what was proper with the Pope, and said King Lewis would not come into Italy this year, and that between England and France there would be neither peace nor war, both parties holding their own. Bador had been received from France dated 4th March. The Spanish ambassador still in Paris. Bador that King Lewis will bribe him, as he does the whole world. Intelligence from Ducas's letters that the Pope was not acquainted with the Signory's offers to the Emperor.

Memorandum.—That in Bador's letter from England dated 14th February, he mentioned having informed the King of the

\* Although Bador writes "copied," Bador evidently means that King Henry VIII. the Catholic was offered letters of the Emperor, whose interests were advanced and the Emperor's interests were injured. Henry VIII. † Bador adds that he will transmit the letter, but the copy does not exist in the French.



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appointment of a new ambassador, and that his Excellency thanked the Signory, saying this expense should not be incurred.

[*Italian.*]

April 6. 53. LETTER from the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME, dated Sanuto Diaries, 30th March, how the Pope was sending Christopher Fisher to England with a brief (the copy of which he encloses) in addition to the first already given. Does this, however, in order that the King may see it, and means to give him "the Rose,"\* and send it to England by this messenger, who will pass through France.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. 54. LETTER from the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME, dated the Sanuto Diaries, 3rd. On the 1st the Pope gave "the Rose" in the name of his King to the English ambassador, the Bishop (*sic*) of York, who was accompanied to his dwelling by the Pope's guard, and by the ambassadors of France, by him, the Venetian, and by those of Florence and Ferrara. Christopher, the person appointed to carry it to England, was at any rate to depart on Monday the 8th, and to go through France, being well charged by the Pope to do good service; and he says he will make haste. The Pope also wishes the Signory to press forward the negotiation with the Emperor, saying he has given the provostship of Santa Sabina, worth 1,000 ducats per annum, to the Rev. Don Matthew Lang, Bishop of Gurk.

[*Italian.*]

April 8. 55. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME. Deliberazioni Senato, v. xliii. p. 10. Charge him to thank the Pope for his paternal communication of the letters from Germany and Spain, and for the good offices of the Bishop de Grassis; also to urge that the Bishop should continue his endeavours to work on the Emperor, by means of the Diet, to close with the Signory's offers, for though the mediation of the King of England is approved by the Pope, the negotiation, by reason of distance, is very tedious; and further to press the mission of C. Fisher to England, unless he has already set out, and further to exert himself to keep the English ambassador, the Archbishop of York, well disposed towards the Signory.

[*Italian, 41 lines.*]

P.S.—Desire, above all, the speedy conclusion of a league between the Pope, England, Spain, and the Signory.

Hopes may be entertained of effecting this, as the King of England is well disposed, and the Catholic King has expressed his good will by the Cardinal of Toledo and his ambassador.

The ambassador is to press this forward, and to urge Fisher's speedy departure if necessary. He is to thank the Pope for having expressed his determination to include the Signory in the league by

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\* The allegory of "the Rose," was explained as follows by Pope Paul IV., A.D. 1556 (March). It signified the flowers which preceded the fruits of the Saviour's passion, and was therefore blessed the week before Passion week. (See Letter Book, *penes me*, of the Venetian ambassador, Bernardo Navagiero; letter no. 67, dated Rome, March 28, 1556.)





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his own act, when advised by his ambassador in France to leave the nomination of the Signory as a party to the King of England.

[*Italian, 61 lines.*]

April 18.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 115.

56. READING in the "COLLEGE" of very important LETTERS received in the past night from ROME, by two couriers, dated 8, 10, 11, and 12 April.

Truth of the league between France and England thus ascertained. Will give the summary of the letters hereafter. Great perplexity caused to all Venice by this news; for whereas assistance had been expected from England, that hope was now lost. The whole of Rialto was dejected, everybody speaking about this, and by so much the more as it was heard through the Milanese that this league had been proclaimed at Milan with great rejoicings, bell-ringing and bonfires. The perusal of the letters was commenced in the College, with but few members present; no one being allowed to enter, nor was audience given.

In his letters of the 8th and 10th, the ambassador detailed his conversations with the Pope, who told him he had received letters from Augsburg of the 26th and 30th March, announcing that the Diet had determined to give the Emperor 350,000 Rhenish guilders for the Italian expedition. That his ambassador the Bishop de Grassis (and he showed his own letter to this effect) was not admitted by the Emperor, who, however, always received the ambassadors of France and Spain. Many comments made thereon by the Pope, who said he foresaw great events, and that it would be well to make terms with the Emperor. Said also it was heard by way of Ferrara that a good number of Germans had entered the Venetian territory; that the ambassadors of the league had told him to send a messenger to the King of Hungary to join it, and recover Dalmatia; and that his Holiness replied, "My Lords, from me they will have no subsidy, either temporal or spiritual; nor money or men; it is well to make provision, for it is of importance."

Had been obliged to grant a passage to 400 men-at-arms on their march from the kingdom of Naples, but refused it to 2,000 infantry, and the Spanish ambassador asked six galleys of the Pope for their passage to Trieste. The Spanish ambassador had also told the Venetian that he could not speak to him in public, and that having anything to say they were to meet in secret.

The Pope also told him that Grassis had asked his permission to quit the Emperor's court, as his stay there exposed the Pope to shame, but received for answer that he was not to depart until dismissed.

Advices had likewise been received that the league between France and England, and against the Venetians had been made: which news came from Milan.

Mention by the ambassador, in date of the 11th and 12th, of his having been with the Pope, who assured him of the league between France and England, according to letters from France, addressed to him in date of the 2nd. His Holiness is named [as an ally] by both parties; so he (the ambassador) fears greatly the peril, and told the Cardinal of San Georgio to speak to the Cardinal of Naples.





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In the course of conversation the Pope moreover expressed himself thus: "We shall endeavour to secure ourselves. The Signory should do the like, as within a year the French and Germans will be at war. Time does great things." The King of France is also sending an envoy to Hungary besides the one already there; so the Pope exhorts the Signory to keep King Ladislaus well pleased, and to write to him. The ambassador conversed with the Cardinal of Naples, who said the Pope should raise troops and unite all Italy. Writes also that the Pope is in great alarm, and all Rome speaks about it, saying his Holiness has three months wherein either to make terms with France or take flight, or else stand the brunt; but so great is his avarice and determination not to spend money, that the ambassador and many others are of opinion he will make terms, which would be much to the detriment of the Signory. He thinks of crossing over to Segna with his money, and saving himself, four galleys being already prepared in Ancona, and two new ones on the stocks. Also that the French cardinals had been to the Cardinal St. Malo, and proceeded to the Pope in a body, with a number of horses, and the French ambassadors, videlicet, the Lord Albert of Carpi (*sic*), wanting to assure his Holiness, and exhort him not to fear.

The Pope had, moreover, been informed that the Signor Constantine Arniti\* was detained at La Scala, the Emperor not choosing him to proceed.

The notice written above concerning the Pope's intention of taking flight and crossing over to Segna, was communicated to the ambassador by the Cardinal de' Medici.

Encloses copy of a letter dated Augsburg, 29 March, written by one whom the ambassador names, to his brother Dom. Christopher [Fisher] on his way to England, very full in its account of the resolutions taken there. In his letters of the 12th, the ambassador says that the Archbishop of York professes to have no news about this from England, and on the preceding day went out hunting, not to be seen, as he was ashamed of himself; he had letters of the 12th, with nothing from his King about this league, and forwarded letters to the Signory from Badoer, but they were of old date. It is supposed the agreement was made before the arrival of the Spanish ambassador; and the King of France gives him (? the King of England) 50,000 crowns, besides what he gave him before.

Also the English ambassador had been to the Pope to tell him he knew nothing about this league, and the Pope said wrathfully, "You are all rascals" (*e il Papa disse con colora: Vui setti tutti riballi*). The Cardinal de' Medici says his Holiness is very apprehensive about the conference proposed by the Cardinal of Rouen with the Emperor, and will therefore endeavour to secure himself; and the Pope said to the ambassador it would be well for the Signory to unite herself with the King of Hungary, and obtain assistance from him. The ambassador considers it useless to speak

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\* A Comneno, uncle of the Marquis of Monferrat.





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to the Pope about Carlo Baglione, as he chooses to have him in his own service. In his letter of the 8th, writes that Renzo da Ceri is ill of ague, but in date of the 12th announces his recovery, though he fears that should the Signory take him into her pay these French ambassadors at Rome would get the Pope to forbid his coming.

Sends also letters from the ambassador in England, and is acquainted with their contents, as they use the same cipher.

LETTER from the Ambassador BADOER, dated London, 12 March. Announces the arrival on the 11th, of the Spanish ambassador; two French ambassadors being already there. The King treats Badoer kindly. Says there is nothing new; is expecting the return from the Emperor of the herald, to whom 112 ducats must be disbursed; so demands money for this outlay, for the despatch of couriers, and for his own maintenance, as he is residing there in shame; nor will any one accommodate him, and it is a reproach to the Signory.

[*Italian.*]

April 18.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 118.

57. SUMMARY of a LETTER from ROME, dated 12th April 1510, received at Venice on the 18th. Hieronimo da Porzil, Doctor, to Zuan Badoer, Doctor and Knight.

Throughout the country peace had been proclaimed between England and King Lewis, though the English ambassador at Rome knows nothing about it.

News of the peace between England and France confirmed by letters from Milan.

At the suit of the King the affair of the Bishop of Zibeltera (*sic*) in England had been compromised; he pays 9,000 ducats for the building of St. Peter's, in Rome.

Communicates also contents of letters from France, touching the league between the King and England, namely, confirmation of the articles stipulated with Henry VII., ratified the day before the arrival of the Spanish ambassador, and with promise to give 50,000 ducats per annum for the tribute, together with full payment of the arrears; King Lewis having expended more than 50,000 ducats additional in bribes. Does not know whether the league will be durable. Both France and England had named the Pope as arbitrator, who is both distrustful and apprehensive.

The French in Rome, on hearing of the news from England, went in a body to the Pope.

In date of the 16th writes that on the 14th the French cardinals and those of the Adorno faction made rejoicings for the compact between England and France, and says it was to their shame and to the credit of the English. The English ambassador, when invited to the mass, refused to attend, but had bonfires burnt in front of his residence, and a table prepared there with wine, which the passengers drank.

[*Italian.*]





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April 21.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 124.**58. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador [DONADO], in ROME.**

The French cardinals and the Lord Albert of Carpi went to the Pope and requested him to have rejoicings and bonfires made in Rome, for the league between England and their King. He replied, "Rome is free to you; we shall do nothing. Had the league been formed against the Infidels, we would have made every possible demonstration, but under the present circumstances do not think fit to move." They announced to him their intention of having a mass sung in St. Peter's church at the altar of St. Lewis. The Pope consented, and the cardinals invited the English ambassador, the Bishop (*sic*) of York to perform the mass. As he refused to go, they took the singers of St. Peter's, so that he was not present; nor has he heard any thing from his King about this. Bonfires were made at the houses of these [French] cardinals and of the Cardinal of San Severino.

[Italian.]

April 26.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 144.

**59. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER** dated London, the 6th, in cipher, how he had written fully on the 30th March about the compact with France (which letters had not arrived in Venice). Within three days another messenger was to set out for Rome, and Badoer would then write in full. Says the peace had been made, as told him by many members of the Privy Council, and by the King, to the advantage of the Signory. His Majesty himself said to him, "I wish thee vastly well." Will see to sending the articles; and with regard to the papal briefs raising the excommunication, gave one to the King, who rejoiced thereat, and consigned the other to the Spanish ambassador, who would transmit it forthwith to King Ferdinand.

The King of England had written briefs to the Pope and to the Emperor about peace; but lest the French should see the one for Rome, he made it out in the form of a minute, and is sending it to his ambassador Bainbridge, that he may read it to the Pope. The brief for the Emperor is somewhat modified. Will obtain copies and send them. The King, understanding that the Cardinal of Pavia [Francesco Alidosio], his "protector" at Rome, was a French partisan, has dismissed him, and conferred the post on the Cardinal San Piero in Vincula [Galeotto Franciotto della Rovere]. Reminds the State of his urgent need of money; has no more plate or anything else to pawn. His position is humiliating.

[Italian.]

April 10.

Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 18.**60. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.**

Admit that the peace between England and France is important,\* but its terms are reported very variously, and not so much to the advantage of the French as the latter represent; the truth will soon be ascertained; but at any rate the mission of D. Christopher

\* Concerning writs of proclamation of this peace between England and France, see Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 146, no. 974, April 1, 1510.





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[Fisher] cannot but be advantageous, as it will at least serve to give umbrage to the King of France.

Ayes 131.

[*Italian, 72 lines.*]

May 1.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 183.

61. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador ANDREA BADOER, dated London, 30th March.

Writes much gossip (*zanze assai*), and that a letter had reached the King from the Lady Margaret, who complains of her father for choosing to aggrandize the King of France, and to sell him Verona, Vicenza, and Padua. That the King of England is well disposed towards the Signory. At his court there are ambassadors from France, Spain, and Burgundy—one from each. The King of England had also written letters to the Emperor, to Spain, and to Rome, to negotiate an arrangement between the Signory and the Emperor, but from lack of money Badoer had not forwarded them. Complains that he has not wherewithal to buy bread. Has pawned his plate and everything. Has moreover had a loan of 700 ducats from certain merchants, who gave 50 ducats each. At present, no one will lend him any more. "The worthy" Carmeliano had advanced him a certain sum for the despatch of the herald. The Signory desired him to draw for 250 ducats on the Pasqualigo firm, but Lorenzo [Pasqualigo] says he has no order. Complains that it is disgraceful for the Signory. It would be well to send the Magnifico the ambassador elect; he perchance would be provided. Badoer says he does not gamble, but seeks to do honour to the Signory. Is ruined in property and health. Complains also that the merchants report ill of him. Does what he can. The French came with much wrought silver as presents. They consequently made the compact with the King, which is said not to be disadvantageous for the Signory. It contains the clause permitting Venetian ships to navigate English and French waters, and he will also see to obtaining the like permission from Spain. Report that the treaty is invalid, as English kings should be above 21 years old when they make any treaty, and his present Majesty is under that age. The French nevertheless seek to forward their own interests.

In December Badoer addressed letters for the Signory to the banker Alvise Pisani, for the dispatch of ambassadors to the Diet, as Maximilian would give them audience at the suit of King Henry, who meant to be arbiter.

The courier, arriving at Roveredo, on his way to Vicenza, was captured and wounded by the Albanian light cavalry, who said they would consign his letters to the governors in the neighbourhood.—Note by Sanuto that "of this the College knows nothing."

Badoer writes that the King's chamber is always open to him, and he can go thither as often as he pleases. He had received letters from the Signory by way of Rome, with the briefs of absolution. It was holy week, and the privy councillors were dispersed; but he would deliver the letters after Easter, and forward the brief for Burgundy. In England nothing was heard





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of military preparations. The King of France was at Paris, and it was supposed he would not move to any great distance thence.

[*Italian.*]

May 12.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 31.

62. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Approve the friendly overtures made to the English ambassador.\*  
Ayes 176. Noes 3. Neutrals 0.

[*Italian*, 105 lines.]

May 14.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 241.

63. RECEIPT of LETTERS from ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England, dated 20th April.

Since the 13th a Scotch priest, the friend of King James, had arrived there. Badoer had known him heretofore, when ambassador from Scotland to King Henry, and had held several conversations together. The Scotchman said his King was the friend of the Signory; and Badoer rejoined that he was the friend of the King of France. The Scotchman asked him also about the death of the Signory's commander in chief, the Count of Pitigliano, and what annual stipend he received, saying his King would be a good general. This priest was gone to Flanders, but he would return speedily, and convey to Scotland the briefs raising the excommunication. The priest said his King wished to come and see Venice. Badoer does not send copies of the letters written by the King of England, being unable to procure them, because the Privy Seal, the Bishop of Winchester, was indisposed. From France news came that the King was at Melun; that he would not come into Italy this year; and that there was no naval armament in the French seas, nor yet at Genoa, as he understood from certain Genoese. Ferigo Morosini, appointed as consul in London. The principal part of the merchants had departed, including Nicolò da Ponte, Hironimo da Molin, and Lunardo Foscari, and were on their way to Venice through France with a safeconduct.

The rest were on the eve of departure, so but few merchants would remain. Also that the King was about to send three of his gentlemen into Italy, to purchase horse armour, and other military accoutrements. Says the King is a courageous and worthy sovereign, very robust (*gagliardo*), and 19 years old. His wife had not yet been delivered. After that event the King was to make a progress through the island, having never been more than 20 miles from London since his accession.

Note by Sanuto that at length a bill of exchange on the Pisani bank for 300 ducats had been remitted to Badoer.

[*Italian.*]

May 24.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 321.

64. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER.

Dated London, the 15th.

Had received the Signory's orders to tell the King that the State placed herself in his Majesty's hands respecting the agreement with the Emperor, so he went to the King and told him this. His Majesty enquired how the Signory stood with the King of Hungary.

\* The words in the original are,—“Commendamo etiam l' officio facto cum l' Orator Englese; et tanto più quanto vedemo che sete per continuar et cum luy et cum quelli altri che cognoscerete esser boni mezi a poter indur la Pont<sup>a</sup> Sant<sup>a</sup> ad quello è però il ben et la securtà tua, et de quella Santa Sede.”





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Replied that he was the Signory's gossip,\* and had sent an ambassador to Venice. The King wrote to the Emperor immediately concerning this matter. Badoer was awaiting a reply to the first herald sent by him, but had not dispatched the second herald with the modified letters, having no money to defray the costs. The King means to accredit a doctor as ambassador to the Emperor. Badoer details his conversations with the King. The Spanish ambassador is on good terms with the Signory, and fain would that the adjustment be effected. The Bishop of Winchester "est alter rex." Badoer said to the bishop, "France is becoming great." The answer was, "The Emperor chooses to have his own." Badoer rejoined that the Emperor had got Trieste and Gorizia, which belonged to him. The Bishop next remarked that the Emperor insisted on Padua and Vicenza, when Badoer replied that these were not imperial towns. In conclusion the Bishop said, "Another year something will be done; the Signory of Venice does not die, but the agreement will speedily come to an end. King Lewis is in bad health; the Signory will recover her own, and by waiting, we shall do her good. That King Lewis should aggrandize himself is not for our benefit. Our King is young; he is exerting himself with the King of Spain, &c. Let this year glide by. The Signory has a powerful army. The Pope is with us and with her."

Badoer talked so much that he went away with a pain in his side. He writes also that the knight of Rhodes, Sir John Rawson, was coming to Venice; he would see the Cardinal of Rouen on the way, and be able to tell the Signory something, being bound for Rome. Badoer demands for a supply of money; he suffers much.

Reading to the Signory of the letter from Carmeliano, "an excellent and worthy letter."

Reception in the college hall of the English knight of Rhodes, Sir John Rawson, who was seated beside the Doge, and very much caressed. Said he was going to Rome; had come through France; and had no news.

[*Italian.*]

May 25.

65. THE DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 44,  
tergo.

The ambassador is to urge that the King of France yields to the Pope's demands only through fear. When relieved from his present fear will execute his ill intentions. Repeat the statement of a trustworthy witness, Nicolò da Ponte, who had come from England through France.

[*Italian, 53 lines.*]

May 29.

66. RECEIPT of two very long LETTERS in cipher from the Ambassador ANDREA BADOER, dated London; the first, 30th April and 1st May.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 357.

How Badoer spoke to the King about the King of Hungary. That the King (of England) is the Signory's friend, and has sent a protest to France to the effect that she is the ruin of Christendom. The King having in council determined to send a doctor post haste to Rome, to speak privately to the Pope in favour of Venice,

\* "*Compare.*" Doge Loredano had stood godfather for Lewis the son of King Ladislaus. See Sanuto Diaries, *passim*.





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Badoer went to the King, and said it was not well to send this doctor, as the Bishop (*sic*) of York does good service, and might be written to; so the Bishop is to be instructed to speak to the Pope. Badoer further requested a doctor might be sent to the Emperor, and the King acquiesced, except that he will send a knight and not a doctor. Announces also the arrival on the island of an ambassador from Portugal. Nothing was heard about the French armament. Repeats that the King of Scotland, who wishes to be the Signory's captain general, could bring ten thousand fighting men, and would come with 150 vessels on pretence of going on a pilgrimage, and on the completion of the undertaking, attack the Infidels, free of cost to the State. Had arranged for a secret conference with him on the borders. Was unable to obtain the entire treaty between England and France, but encloses copy of the clause relating to the [Flanders galleys].

The second letter, dated 11th May, announces the return of the herald who went to the Emperor, and who is the bearer of letters to the King, acquainting him that the Signory's ambassadors had conferred with those of the Emperor, who derided them. That the Emperor insists on having his towns. That the Diet had determined to give him 4,000 horse and 10,000 foot, paid until the end of September, though he wants the money instead. Also that he means to come with an army to recover his own. Apparent displeasure of the King of England at this reply. Consequent mission of the aforesaid knight, a worthy man and thoroughly Italian. If the Signory had any unacknowledged agent resident with the Emperor to negotiate an agreement, Badoer would cause the said knight to be charged to confer with him. Mentions the arrival of letters from Rome. The Lady Margaret is doing her utmost to raise money for her father, but the Flemings will not pay anything. In England the articles with France are considered invalid, because the King is not 21 years old; and the ratification is needed. The Prior of St. John's [Sir Thomas Doewra], was to have gone to France to ratify them; but nothing is said about this. On the contrary, it is reported that the King has been duped by France. Again mentions the captainship for the King of Scots, who is a man of valour, and anxious to do himself honour. The noblemen Giustinian, Molin, and Da Ponte were about to depart with a safeconduct for France. The King had told him the Signory should attend to Vicenza. Writes that the Bishop of Winchester does his utmost to bring matters to a good end, and if he do not accomplish the wishes of the Signory, the failure does not proceed from him; and Badoer knows no more, save that he has not a penny for his maintenance, and demands pecuniary supplies. Has not two ducats wherewith to pay the postage of the present letters, and gives other details of poverty disgraceful to the State.

CLAUSE in the TREATY of PEACE between France and England (as follows):

"Also that all merchants, even Venetians, Florentines, or Genoese, may come freely and securely to the kingdom of England by sea and fresh water, armed for the safety of their persons, property, goods, ships, and effects, or unarmed, with their own merchandize





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or that of aliens, in any of their own ships, carracks, or galleys; and depart whithersoever they please, and as often as they choose, without disturbance or molestation of any sort from the King of England and of the French, or from their heirs, successors, subjects, etc., during the aforesaid alliance. The Venetians coming to England exclusively; the Florentines and Genoese having access both to England and France; the Venetians aforesaid on their outward and homeward voyages committing no acts of hostility against either England or France or their confederates."

[*Extract from letters in Italian; clause in Latin.*]

June 9.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 418.

**67. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador ANDREA BADOER**, dated London, 18th May. The King is well inclined towards the Signory, and has sent his ambassador to the Emperor to negotiate an agreement, and writes whatever Badoer chooses. The privy councillors thought themselves neglected, especially the Bishops of Winchester and Durham; so he applied to them, and they were pleased. Moreover the King considers himself duped by France in the articles of the treaty; the one concerning the galleys is not drawn up as he intended; and there was also a clause, whereby the King of France promised not to try to obtain any more of the Signory's territory, but merely to furnish the Emperor the contingent stipulated by the League of Cambrai, which clause Badoer had suggested to the King, and when he asked his councillors about it, they said it had not been committed to writing.

Writes how much good will the King bears the Signory, from whom Badoer receives no letters, and has no money to spend. Has drawn 40 ducats on Ferigo Morosini; requests they may be paid. Also has heard, by way of Flanders, that the King of France is sending two ambassadors, Mons. de Ravestein,\* formerly commander of the French armada at Myteline, and Mons. du Pin, who had been ambassador in England before.

Mentions also the King's secretary, Carmeliano, who would fain do everything for the Signory.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.

Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 61,  
tergo.

**68. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.** Is to commend the Pope's intentions of expelling the French from Italy. Consider it certain that on the Pope's declaring himself, the Kings of England and Spain, and the Emperor, who are all understood to be undecided, will doubtless act without hesitation. It would be therefore opportune and advantageous for the Pope to hasten these negotiations with England.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 52 lines.*]

July 3.

Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 66,  
tergo.

**69. The SAME to the SAME.** To urge the Pope to charge his agent in England to effect the understanding between Rome, England, and Venice.

[*Italian, 79 lines.*]

\* The command of a French fleet by Mons. de Ravestein in the year 1500 is recorded by Père Daniel, vol. v. p. 356, (abridgment).





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July 10.

Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliiii. p. 71,  
tergo.

## 70. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Entreat the Pope to send his nuncio to England, they being convinced that he will easily obtain whatever terms he desires; as both Badoer and the Venetian merchants in England state that the King and lords of England are much dissatisfied with the peace with France and are anxious to break it, and that the English people are as ill disposed as possible towards the French.

Ayes, 169. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 94 lines.*]

July 15.

Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliiii. p. 75.

## 71. The SAME to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Have learnt the mission of the Prior of St. John's [Thomas Docwra] and of the Doctor [Nicholas West] to the King of France to confirm the agreement and peace, which news, in truth, disturbed them, as they had imagined that the King and the lords (of England), having discovered the ill will of the King of France and his intentions, would rather have sought to break such agreement and peace, than confirm it. Before the receipt of this present letter, the King of England will have become acquainted with the intention of the Pope, who, perceiving the extreme ill will of the French not only towards all Italy, but chiefly against the Apostolic see, has determined to resist, and has written to all the Christian powers, and especially to the King of England, to oppose these French proceedings. Are certain that his Majesty will not allow the Apostolic see to be harassed by the machinations of his natural enemies, but will assist and maintain the papacy. The King of Spain also will do the like, and has already given some proof to that effect; nor is there any doubt but that the Emperor, who has been in so many ways outraged by the French, will follow the example. By so much the more will all the aforesaid sovereigns bestir themselves, inasmuch as it is understood that 10,000 Switzers intend to traverse the Milanese to enter the Pope's service, whether the French allow it or not. Moreover the Signor Marco Antonio Colonna is on the borders of the Genoese territory with a considerable number of men-at-arms and infantry, and with the Lords Octavian and Janus da Campo Fregoso, for the purpose of making a revolution in Genoa and expelling the French thence. To effect this the Pope has ordered his fleet in those seas to join the Signory's squadron of 14 or 15 galleys, in excellent order. His Holiness has also a considerable number of men-at-arms and infantry in Bologna. The State has its army at Padua, and keeps Treviso likewise well garrisoned with troops. The enemy have overrun the Paduan and Trevisan territory, plundering and burning as usual, and are now not very far from Padua.

It is therefore now time for the King, together with the Pope, to show himself openly the enemy of the King of France; wherefore, he (Badoer) is to do his utmost with the King and all the lords of England, not only that his Majesty may not confirm the French treaty, but even break it, and come to a good understanding with the Pope and the Signory. Are certain that the King of Spain, who is fully aware of the French projects, will join the alliance. From





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the foregoing statement the King of England may perceive that the King of France will soon be molested from so many quarters as to warrant a very good result.

With regard to the bows which were to have been sent to him by the State's noblemen of Cà da Pesaro, he (Badoer) is to tell the King that a large supply is already prepared, but they have no means of sending them, as the galleys do not make the voyage. The French, whose nature it is to break faith, at a time when at peace with the State, without cause for dispute,\* captured the Republic's galleys, and would do so now much more readily. Hence no one would bid for the galleys, or even load their goods and merchandize on board of them, so that when the Signory was on the point of putting the galleys up to auction, they found that neither masters nor merchants would run the risk.

Desire him (Badoer) to confer with Peter Griphus [subcollector to the Pope], and with D. Christopher [Fisher], the Pope's envoys (*nuntii*), and to give them to understand that he is expressly ordered by the State to act as their colleague in endeavouring to accomplish the Pope's intention, and to give detailed and speedy notice of everything by way of Rome.

Read to the full College.

[*Italian, 77 lines.*]

July 15.

Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 76.

72. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Approve of the briefs written by the Pope to the sovereigns of Christendom—those for England especially. Pleased to learn the excellent disposition of the reverend English ambassador [Archbishop of York].

Ayes, 153. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 76 lines.*]

July 15.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 657.

73. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador ANDREA BADOER, dated London, 8th June.

How Christopher Fisher had arrived there in the Pope's name, and presented "the Rose" to the King. Fisher is his friend; had known him at Venice. Fisher uses his good offices in favour of the Signory. The Prior of St. John's had not left for France. The two ambassadors from the Emperor had not arrived in England.

The Queen had had a miscarriage, to the great sorrow of every one: they are forming fresh projects (*fanno nuovi pensieri*).

Christopher Fisher said the English ambassador, the Archbishop of York, was a Frenchman at heart.

The King told Badoer that in the peace with France there was a clause to the effect that King Lewis, after obtaining his own, was not to molest the Signory.

Neither in Flanders nor on the part of the Emperor is there any rumour of war. Also the priest sent by the King of Scots was

\* A.D. 1485, August 22. See *ante*.





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returned. The King of Scots is still anxious to be appointed the Signory's captain general.

[*Italian.*]

July 15.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 655.

74. From the Ambassador, ANDREA BADOER, dated London, 25 June, how the Prior of St. John's [Sir Thomas Docwra] was to have gone to France to confirm the peace, but his departure had been postponed because the King cannot act until he has attained 21 years of age.

Badoer had been to the King and acquainted him with the loss of Vicenza,\* which his Majesty and his courtiers much regretted. The English would make a diversion willingly, but are averse to breaking the peace. Next spring they would be glad to see either the Pope or the King of Spain allied with their King, and then the latter would act. The English said, "We are at a distance; another year something will be done."

The ambassador who had been sent to the Emperor went to the Archduke of Burgundy and to the Lady Margaret, with whom he used his good offices, and on the 13th proceeded on his way to his mission.

Also on the day following the date of the letter the Prior of St. John's was to depart for France. He is the Signory's friend. He is accompanied by another doctor, and they are to require the King of France to desist from the attack on the Venetians after obtaining his own, as in such an event he had promised the King of England to do nothing further.

The imperial ambassadors who were expected in England seem to have been recalled, the King of France and the Emperor having formed a fresh league. The King of France has summoned the Emperor to repay the money lent him by Michaelmas, stating that in default of payment he will take possession of Verona.

The English lords are anxious for a league between the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, England, and the Signory. Mentions the bows with which the Pesari of London are to supply the King. His Majesty wishes them to be sent.

In cipher.† [*Italian.*]

July 23.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 79.

75. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME. Approve of all the Pope is doing to break the compact between England and France.

Ayes, 174. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 70 lines.*]

Aug. 2.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliiii. p. 86,  
tergo.

76. The SAME to the SAME. To urge the Pope to continue his efforts to embroil England with France.

Ayes, 176.

[*Italian, 60 lines.*]

\* The Imperialists got possession of Vicenza on the 24th of May 1510. (See Letters of Luigi da Porto. Letter no. 48, p. 199.)

† There is no cipher in the Diaries, but Sanuto generally notices the fact of the deciphering of such documents as were transmitted to the State in cipher.





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Aug. 15.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 97.

**77. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.**

Consider that the detention of the English ambassador's letters by the French will irritate the King of England; especially as the Pope will exaggerate the offence. No effort should be neglected to induce the Pope to effect the rupture of the agreement between England and France.

Ayes, 161. Noes, 15. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 95 lines.*]

Sept. 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xi. p. 191.

**78. PRESENTATION to the COLLEGE by Piero di Cà Pesaro of a letter to the Signory from Henry VIII., requesting permission to export from Venice 40,000 bows, by any ship soever, for conveyance to his Majesty. Grant of a permit for part of them, although against the laws.**

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 112.

**79. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.**

With regard to the Pope's intention of proceeding to ecclesiastical censures against France, do not think fit to dissuade his Holiness; for such censures, as they would be justly pronounced, would avail much with the Christian powers, especially with the King of England, of whom for many days they have received no intelligence. Think it is desirable that the Pope, through the Archbishop of York, should keep urging the King of England, and make him acquainted with the rapacity of the French, and their evil doing.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 93 lines.*]

Sept. 9.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xi. p. 221.

**80. MOTION made in the SENATE by all the Sages, including Marin Sanuto, then "Sage for the Orders," for a letter to Andrea Badoer, ambassador in England, giving him the news of Venice, and thanking the King for the mission to Germany of an ambassador; the State opining that he will do his best with the Emperor for an adjustment between his imperial Majesty and the Signory.**

Also touching the clause stipulated with France about the galleys; the Signory declines sending them as usual, because the Venetian merchants will not place trust in France.

Motion carried.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato,  
v. xliii. p. 117.

**81. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.**

Send duplicates of their last letters of 15th July, understanding that they have been intercepted. By his letter of 17th July have learnt what the King had told him relative to the announcement made by the King of France respecting the capture of Legnago, that he (the King of France) had withdrawn his troops, and would not continue hostilities; also that the King (of England) had given him (Badoer) good hopes of alliance.

Reply that the King of France does not desist from his usual artifices, which ought by this time to be well known to the King (of England). That the French after the capture of Legnago—which

1510.

Aug. 15.  
Debate  
Sensu  
v. xlii. p. 97.

VV. The Pope and SEKATE to the Ambassador in Rome.  
Consider that the intention of the English ambassador's letter  
by the French will irritate the King of England; especially as the  
Pope will exaggerate the offence. No effort should be neglected to  
induce the Pope to effect the rupture of the agreement between  
England and France.  
Ayres 161. Nov. 15. Neutral, 0.  
[Italian, 35 lines]

Sept. 4

Sensu  
v. xi. p. 191.

VV. Presentation to the College by Piero di Co. Piero of  
a letter to the Signory from Henry VIII, requesting permission  
to export from Venice 40,000 bows by any ship except for con-  
veyance to his Majesty. Grant of a permit for part of them, although  
against the law.  
[Italian]

Sept. 7

Debate  
Sensu  
v. xlii. p. 112.

VV. The Pope and SEKATE to the Ambassador in Rome.  
With regard to the Pope's intention of proceeding to excommunication  
against France, do not think it to diminish his Holiness; for  
such excommunication as they would be hardly pronounced, would avail  
much with the Christian powers especially with the King of  
England, of whom for many days they have received no intelligence.  
Think it is desirable that the Pope, through the Archbishop of York,  
should keep urging the King of England, and make him acquainted  
with the rapacity of the French, and their evil doing.  
Ayres 155. Nov. 2. Neutral, 0.  
[Italian, 35 lines]

Sept. 9

Sensu  
v. xi. p. 191.

80. Motion made in the Senate by all the Signors in-  
cluding Martin Sennar, that "Sage for the Order," for a letter to  
Andrea Dado, ambassador in England, giving him the power of an  
Venice and thanking the King for the mission to disburse of an  
ambassador; the State opinion that he will do his best to  
negotiate for an adjustment between the English Signory and the  
Signory.  
After passing the clause stipulated with France, that the Venetian  
the Signory should send him as usual, because the Venetian  
merchants will not place trust in France.  
Motion carried.  
[Italian]

Sept. 9

Debate  
Sensu  
v. xlii. p. 112.

81. The Pope and SEKATE to Andrea Baisio, Amba-  
sador in England.  
Send dispatches of their last letters of 15th July, understanding that  
they have been intercepted. By his letter of 17th July have learned  
what the King had told him relative to the announcement made by  
the King of France respecting the capture of Lagosca, that he (the  
King of France) had withdrawn his troops, and would not continue  
hostilities; also that the King (of England) had given him (Baisio)  
good hopes of alliance.  
Reply that the King of France does not desire from his treaty  
articles, which ought by this time to be well known to the King of  
England. That the French after the capture of Lagosca—which



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was effected, not by force of arms, but by treachery, according to their wont,—did their worst against the Signory's territory. The recall of the French troops was caused by the movements of the Pope, the Switzers, and of Genoa; and not by any wish to spare the Venetian territory. The King of France made the above-mentioned announcement to conceal his necessity, and to show that he had not broken his promises and agreements with England. Confess they would fain see something done. Fair words are given him (Badoer), and yet the results appear at variance with them. The Pope can not be better disposed than he is towards the preservation of Italy, or more exasperated against the French, and, but for his well devised and most holy proceedings, the French would by this time be masters of Italy. The Pope has not failed doing what became the father of the Christian commonwealth. He has a very efficient fleet (in which were 12 Venetian light galleys and four bastard galleys in excellent order) for the attack on Genoa. This fleet at the close of August was at Piombino, on the point of sailing for Genoa, with the confident hope of revolutionizing it. A great number of Switzers have marched on this expedition, of whom 10,000 are in the pay of the Pope; and to prevent their passage, well nigh all the French commanders and troops have withdrawn into the Milanese, with the exception of a few spears, which were left by the King of France with the Duke of Ferrara and the imperial army, and which could be but of little use. The Pope has excommunicated the Duke of Ferrara and seized all the towns held by him in Romagna, Modena, and Finale di Modena. The Pope's army numbers 1,000 men-at-arms and 10,000 infantry. In aid of this expedition the Signory also has sent a fleet of galleys and other vessels, and 800 light horse, and has recovered the whole of the Polesine of Rovigo, and all the places on the left bank of the Po except Figaruolo. The Pope is expected at Bologna on the 15th September, when he will besiege Ferrara and take it, for it is considered certain that the Duke will evacuate the place. The King of Spain is about to send from the kingdom of Naples 300 spears under Fabricio Colonna in aid of the Pope. The Venetian armies have recovered all the towns and castles of the Paduan territory, and also Civald and Feltre. The Paduan army has occupied Vicenza, and followed the Imperialists to Verona. The enemy got into Verona with great loss to his rearguard, and the imperial commander-in-chief, the Prince of Hainault, expired at Verona. The Signory's army is now besieging the city. At the suit of the Pontiff have released the Marquis of Mantua, and appointed him their captain general, and he is expected shortly in the camp.

Desire him (Badoer) to announce all these particulars to the King, exhorting him no longer to delay or lose so great an opportunity.

Is to thank the King for the commission given to his ambassador who went, to the Emperor, relative to the reconciliation, to effect which the Pope has sent the Signor Constantino Areniti\* to Germany.

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\* Costantino Cominate. (See Guicciardini, v. ii. p. 313.)





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Is to apologize on behalf both of the Pope and of the Signory, for inability to send the Flanders galleys, on account of the present state of affairs. Expatiate on the inconvenience thus caused to the subjects of either country, and to his Majesty's trade.

Add in a postscript news received of the capture of Varese by the Switzers, who have also taken 40 men-at arms and cut to pieces 200 Gascons, the rest having taken to flight. In Varese they found a great amount of artillery. Is to communicate this also to the King. Ayes, 143. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 87 lines.]

Sept. 10.

Misti  
Consiglio X.,  
v. xxxiii. p. 68.

**82. DECREE of the COUNCIL OF TEN and the JUNTA.**

Permission to the College to propose to the Senate whatever they please respecting the recall of Badoer, ambassador in England, and Giovanni Diedo, proveditor of Padua, both having been in the first instance appointed by the Council.

[*Latin*, 8 lines.]

Sept. 11.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xi. p. 229.

**83. MOTION** made in the SENATE by the Sages of the Council, for the recall from England of the Ambassador Andrea Badoer. If unable to obtain a safeconduct, to remain with a monthly salary of 50 ducats in lieu of 100 as assigned him at the time of his appointment by the Council of Ten.

First amendment proposed by the Sages for the Orders—Marin Sanuto, Lorenzo Orio, and Piero Morosini. That the recall be delayed for the present, and that he remain with a monthly salary of 70 ducats. Speech of Lorenzo Orio and of Francesco Pasqualigo—that Badoer ought to be supplied with money; that his stay thus was disgraceful, as he did not receive even 30 ducats a month, still less 100. Humorous speech of Hironimo di Priuli, who proposed retaining Badoer at a cost of only 20 ducats a month, by dismissing the proveditor Zuan Diedo, who was of no service in the camp, and assigning his monthly salary of 80 ducats to the ambassador in England. Peals of laughter in the Senate at this proposal.

For the original motion, 14.

For Sanuto's amendment, 122.

[*Italian*.]

Sept. 11.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliii. p. 119.

**84. MOTION** made in the Senate concerning the Recall of ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Considering the excessive cost of the embassy and the necessity for retrenchment owing to the great need of money, Badoer having filled the post for well nigh twenty months, and his stay, moreover, being unnecessary: Put to the ballot that by authority of the Senate, after acquainting the King with the news lately transmitted, he do announce his recall, and request the King to obtain a safeconduct for him from the Emperor and the Lady Margaret.

In the meanwhile, to diminish the great expense, his monthly salary to be reduced to 50 ducats, and on quitting England he to be





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charged to entrust the State's affairs to the consul in London, with every necessary information and instruction concerning current events, until an ambassador be sent thither.

Ayes, 14.

Amendment, that, as it is not fitting to remove the ambassador from England lest the King take umbrage, Badoer be written to, that in order to diminish the cost to the Signory he is henceforth to remain there with only 70 ducats a month for his expenses, until the Senate determine otherwise.

Ayes, 122. Noes, 21. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian*, 25 lines.]

Oct. 22.  
Mantuan  
Archives.

**85. JAMES IV., KING OF SCOTLAND, to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.**

Heard with regret of the grievous misfortune which had lately befallen him, and that according to report the Venetians had refused to release him. It is now said that the Pope has obtained for him his liberty. Congratulates himself on the safe return of his kinsman. Has sent to Italy Andrew [Forman], Bishop of Murray, perpetual commendatary of the monasteries of Dryburgh, Pettinweyme, and Cottyngame, in England, to negotiate an alliance and friendship between the sovereigns of Christendom, and to reconcile the King of the French and the Venetians, so that a combined attack may be made on the enemies of the Christian faith. Requests the Marquis to let him know what hope he has of the Christian expedition, and also to promote the interests of his envoy, as by reason of the ties of blood, he (the King) will consider any benefit obtained by his envoy through the Marquis in the light of a personal favour; as the Marquis will understand from the ambassador, to whom he has given credentials.

Edinburgh, 22nd October 1510. *Signed*: Jacobus. *Counter-signed*: A secretis, Paniter.

[*Original, Latin*.]

Nov. 9.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xi. p. 421.

**86. READING of LETTERS** in cipher, received on the preceding day from Andrea Badoer, ambassador in England, dated 9th September, how he had spoken with the King, who was willing to accommodate the Signory with 150,000 ducats, provided jewels to that amount were consigned to him as security. His Majesty wishes Badoer to remain in England and to send for his wife, that she may reside there.

[*Italian*.]

Nov. 16.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xi. p. 433.

**87. MOTION** made in the SENATE by all the Sages, for a letter to Andrea Badoer, ambassador in England, in reply to what he wrote about the King's willingness to lend the State 150,000 ducats, provided jewels to that amount be given him as security. The Signory expresses its perfect satisfaction at this arrangement, and desires to be informed of the mode in which the transaction is to be effected, and will make out the receipt "on account of so many jewels;" the King to accommodate them with 100,000 ducats, and





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Badoer to write by what means the jewels can be sent to England, and also how the money should be remitted to England.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 16.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliii. p. 155.

88. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Announce the recent receipt of his letters of 23rd September, whereby they perceive the offer which he says was made him by King Henry to accommodate the Signory with a good sum of money in this her very urgent need.

Charge him to return ample thanks to his Majesty, promising eternal recollection of the favour, and reciprocity. If the King be pleased to accommodate the State with 100,000 ducats, he may remit the same into the hands of his reverend ambassador at Rome, to whom the Signory will give security in jewels, or even send the jewels to his Majesty, together with bows and such other things as may best please him. To endeavour to learn what the King wishes, and give the State speedy notice thereof.

If spoken to on the subject of the Flanders galleys he is to reply, that if the State's merchants were guaranteed against attacks from the King of Spain and the French, the Signory is of opinion they would prepare for the voyage.

The Pope is now most closely allied with the Signory, and more than ever exasperated against the French and disposed to release Italy from the servitude in which they hold her.

Relate how the Pope has been lately at Bologna, where the grand master\* of Milan appeared in battle array, insulting that city and the person of his Holiness, who excommunicated him by name, and also the other French captains and the city of Milan.

Give account of the numerous papal army at Modena, including 300 spears sent by the King of Spain under Fabricio Colonna. The Signory has also sent 500 spears, 5,000 infantry, and 1,600 light horse, commanded by the provveditor general, the noble Paulo Capello. Purpose making a united attack. The rest of the Venetian army is at Montagnana ready for action. To communicate this intelligence to the King.

Ayes, 124. Noes, 11. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 44 lines.*]

Nov. 24.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliii. 157,  
tergo.

89. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

The proposal of the reverend English ambassador to the Pope for a league between his Holiness, his own King, and the Signory, if carried into effect, would be fatal to the French; wherefore they enjoin their ambassador to thank the Archbishop of York in their name, and to tell him that they will be mindful of his excellent disposition, and show such gratitude as is their wont; assuring him also that his proposal has been accepted by the Signory for the advantage, not merely of the Pope, of England, and of Venice, but of all Christendom. Although the Pope seems to decline the proposal on the ground of expense, they charge their ambassador to persuade

\* The French commander-in-chief, De Chaumont.





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the Archbishop of York to induce the Pope not to reject the offers thus made to him, so that the negotiation may proceed and be concluded with all possible despatch. The ambassador to declare also to his Holiness, that he may increase their contingent by such amount as shall seem fit to him, they being willing to bear every expense, even beyond their strength. With regard to the suggestion of the Archbishop of York about sending a legate of authority to England, is to persuade the Pope to do so speedily; though, as the distance is so great, they recommend that the matters should be concluded without awaiting the mission.

The ambassador is to announce to the Pope their readiness to bear such part of this burden as he himself shall choose. Is subsequently to make a like announcement to the Archbishop of York, adroitly nevertheless, to avoid irritating the Pope.

Ayes, 170: Noes, 2: Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 74 lines.]

Nov. 25.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xi p. 449.

**90. READING** in the SENATE of LETTERS from the Signory's ambassadors at the papal court, dated the 19th, how the English ambassador [the Archbishop of York] had been to the Pope and told him that his King would make a league with his Holiness and the Signory, provided they bring 2,000 men-at-arms and 10,000 infantry into the field. That the King of England would attack France beyond the Alps; and that the King of Scotland, who is a most valiant man, would be a good commander-in-chief for the Venetian expedition. The Pope replied that he could not incur so great an expense; so the Archbishop of York spoke to the Venetian ambassadors about this, adding other very secret clauses. The said letters were read with strong injunctions to silence.

[*Italian*.]

Nov. 30.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliii. p. 159.

**91. The DOGE and SENATE** to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

On the preceding morning, the friar, Cardinal Adrian [de Corneto]'s agent, had audience of the Doge; and amongst other things, narrated the negotiation for the league, promoted by the reverend English ambassador [the Archbishop of York]. The Signory confirmed in their opinion, to omit nothing whatever [that can conduce to the league's conclusion].

[*Italian*, 66 lines.]

Dec. 22.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xi. p. 496.

**92. ANDREA BADOER** to the STATE.

Dated London, 30th September to 24th October.

Had written on the 3rd and 9th September; but all persons passing through France were searched, and some couriers with letters were maltreated and imprisoned. In date of the 3rd, wrote that they must send his wife to England, as he had promised the King that she should bring the security for the loan. Had so contrived that double the amount would be obtained, and as much more as the Signory may need, provided the security be sufficient and valid. Has done good service. It would be well to send his wife with the galleys. Tells his son-in-law, Francesco Gradenigo, to get appointed master of one of them. The Signory must give his wife





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at least 400 ducats, as he had written to her to make many purchases. His most recent letters from the State were in date of June. The merchants Morosini, Marcello, Foscari, and Grimani were coming to Venice, and it would be heard from them whether he is asleep, or passes his time with ladies or prostitutes, or at the tavern. Complains of Lorenzo Giustinian, a sorry rogue and a liar, who, on his departure with Hironimo Giustinian, did not go to shake hands with him (Badoer); within the last quarter of a century never had a merchant quitted London with worse fame. Laments having to stay there at his time of life; but is nevertheless content to do so for his country's sake, though obliged to live at great cost; and should nothing else come of it, his name will not be forgotten hereafter, as a good example for others. Says the Signory had not written to him for six months, though letters had been received by Pasqualigo and by the son of Hironimo Grimani. Would fain have leave to return home. Is also without letters from the ambassador at Rome. Through him (Badoer) the King wrote to the Emperor and to France, and despatched three heralds with very courteous letters and prayers to the Emperor to incline him to the agreement; after which the King caused an ambassador to be sent, who is yet there. Owing to this mission the Emperor revoked divers hostile projects, meditated by him against the Signory, and now the King will do the State this pecuniary service. Cannot find anyone to convey the present letters at any price.

In a postscript of the 25th October, mentions having forwarded the letters, and that he was on his way to the court, to make provision that the Venetian despatches may not be stopped by France, either going or coming.

[Italian.]

Dec. 31.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xi. p. 510.

93. RECEIPT by the SIGNORY of a Letter from PEREGRIN VENIER, dated Palermo, 10th November.

..... How a Biscayan bark from England had been wrecked off Ivice, having a cargo of 7,000 pieces of coloured kerseys, bound for Scio; but 4,000 pieces had been saved, and they hoped to recover the rest, though of this he had great doubts. Did not know the name of the master. On the preceding day a bark from Hampton had passed, bound also for Scio with kerseys and cloths belonging to the Genoese and Ragusans.

[Italian.]

## A.D. 1511.

1511.

Jan. 2.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xi. p. 513.

94. RECEIPT of LETTERS from ANDREA BADOER, ambassador in England, dated 17 November. Repeats the offer by the King of a loan to the Signory, to the amount of a million of ducats, provided sufficient security be given him in jewels. Badoer's wife to be sent with the galleys, for the King wishes her to reside in England and himself likewise.

[Italian.]





1511.

Feb. 20.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. x. p. 602.

**95. READING** in the SENATE of letters from the ambassador in England, Andrea Badoer, dated London, 15th January, received at Venice on the 19th February. A son had been born to the King on New Year's Day, one hour and half after midnight, and was christened on the following Sunday the 5th with very great pomp and rejoicing; the ambassadors from the Pope, France, Spain, and Venice being present.

They went subsequently to visit the Queen and congratulated her on such noble offspring, which received the name of Henry, after his father.

An ambassador from the King of Scotland, namely, the Bishop of Moray [Andrew Forman], was on his way to Italy, and would come to the Signory; also another individual, an Englishman, by name Sir Richard Jerningham, was going to Milan, to purchase armour, and purposed coming to see Venice.

[*Italian.*]

March 5.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreto,  
v. xliv. p. 2.

**96.** The DOGE and SENATE to the Ambassador DONATO at the [Papal] Court.

To consign enclosed letters of congratulation for the King of England on the birth of his son, to the English ambassador, to be forwarded to England.

Ayes, 153. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 11 lines.*]

March 10.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xii. p. 26.

**97. READING** in the SENATE of very recent letters from the Ambassador Andrea Badoer, dated London, 18th February, received on the 8th March. How he had spoken to the King about the loan, saying the jewels should be consigned to the King's ambassador at the papal court; whereupon the King replied, "They would be insecure." Details a conversation on that subject, to the effect that nothing could be obtained.

Also, that the King had issued a command for all persons capable of bearing arms to be in readiness for the 1st of May, though he does not mean to attack France, but merely to make a demonstration of doing so, and has sent an envoy to France, and another envoy to the Emperor, exhorting the latter to come to an agreement with the Signory.

In reply to the motion made for the reduction of his salary from 100 to 70 ducats, Badoer says he did not go to England to benefit himself, but for his country's sake, and that he is content with what the Signory pleases to give.

[*Italian.*]

March 12.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xii. p. 41.

**98. RECEIPT** of a PRIVATE LETTER from HIRONIMO LIPOMANO, dated Ravenna, Monday the 10th, at the 20th hour, how there, on that morning, the Pope had made nine cardinals, of whom eight were proclaimed, and the Bishop of Gurk [Matthew Lang] *in pectore*. Six were accepted in consistory, the others being absent, namely, Gurk, Sion the Switzer, and Siena (Petrucci). In the public consistory on Saturday they were to receive the hats.





1511.

The eight cardinals proclaimed were the Archbishop of York, English ambassador at the papal court.

The Bishop of Sion, Switzer.

The Auditor of the Treasury, Dom. Antonio de Montibus.

Dom. Achilles de Grassis, Bolognese, late Legate in Hungary.

Dom. Pietro de Accoltis, Bishop of Ancona.

Dom. — Sauli, Prothonotary, a Genoise Bishop of Malta.

Dom. Francisco Argentino, Bishop of Concordia.

Dom. Petrucci, son of Pandolfo, of Siena.

[*Italian.*]

March 17.

**99.** RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador DONATO, at the papal court. The Pope was about to send into the camp, as legate, the English ambassador, who was lately elected cardinal, and who meant to raise 4,000 infantry.

The Duke of Albany, a Scotchman, in the French camp, had several times endeavoured to speak with the Pope in favour of peace, but the Pope refused him audience, because his Holiness will neither listen to the French nor speak to them; nevertheless Donato had advised him to give ear to the proposal, on the ground that the negotiator was a Scotchman, who had said he would adjust these matters, and that the King of France would restore to the Signory her territory.

[*Italian.*]

April 12.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 8.

**100.** The DOGE and SENATE to the Ambassador DONATO at the [Papal] Court.

Letters of the 9th ultimo, from Adrianople, state how a Florentine merchant, one Thomaso dai Olli, had been into the presence of the Bashaws, and announced that the Kings of France, Spain, and England, the King of the Romans, and the King of Hungary, had made a league for the ruin of the Venetian Republic, and that the Pope had joined that league. The Signory of Florence, as the great friend of Sultan Bajazet, exhorted him to take his share of the Signory's territory, but the Bashaws gave no credit to the news.

[*Italian, 13 lines.*]

May 2.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 12.

**101.** The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

Had heard that the hostile army was shifting its quarters. Not known which road it would take. Deem it advisable that the Archbishop of York should come with the troops [under his command] to join the others on this side.

Were glad to hear that the Pope had conferred the provostship on the Bishop of Coir, and hope that the Cardinal of Gurk will very soon repent him of his insolence. Think it would not be amiss for the Pope to give notice of these facts to his ambassador in England, and also to the princes of Germany, to whom Gurk is most odious.

Ayes, 163. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 46 lines.*]





1511.

May 5.  
Senato Mar.  
v. xviii. p. 126.

**102. CONTRACT between PIERO DA CHA DA PESARO and KING HENRY VIII.**

Piero da Cha da Pesaro being bound to the King of England to send him a large supply of bows, but unable to find means for their conveyance owing to the present war, though constantly urged to fulfil his engagement, as seen by the letters from his Majesty now read to the Senate; and it being considered very fitting and to the purpose to gratify his Majesty not only in this but in every matter of greater importance, (most especially as the said nobleman has offered to send the bows from time to time as bound at his own expense, provided the means be given him to hire foreign ships and barks, and as ships with the sole freight of bows and without wines cannot make the voyage to England)—Put to the ballot, that by authority of the Senate licence be given to said Piero to hire one or more foreign barks and ships, and that he may have the means of sending the bows, he be allowed to load to the amount of 500 butts of Candia wine, his own property and that of others, in such name as shall seem fit to him, the acts passed to the contrary notwithstanding.

Ayes, 111. Noes, 43. Neutrals, 0.

Kinsfolk ordered to withdraw, and mention made of the laws and penalties.

[*Italian, 17 lines.*]

May 7.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 15.

**103. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.**

Allude to what the Pope had told him concerning the announcement made by the Scotch ambassador. Remind him that it would be well to urge the King of England to put in execution the offers made by him in case the King of France should come into Italy.

Ayes, 146. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 25 lines.*]

May 11.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xii. p. 139.

**104. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Proveditor CAPELLO, dated Finale, 8th, 9th, and 10th.**

The Cardinal of England, who had been besieging the bastion of Genivolo, had arrived at Cento, and was on his march to the camp. Was said to have 2,000 Spaniards with him. Comes to reinforce the army. He came into the camp previously, and those foot soldiers, getting no pay from the Pope, had taken the town of Cento, and then on receiving money they were quieted.\*

May 16.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xii. p. 145.

**105. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER, dated London, 10 April. Trifles. Good will of King Henry.**

Nothing of importance.

[*Italian.*]

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\* Guicciardini, v. ii. p. 343, alludes to the siege of the bastion of Genivolo, but makes no mention of Cardinal Bainbridge, who seems to have received the red hat as a reward for military service; and we now find him quelling a mutiny, and ransoming the birthplace of Guercino.

103. CONTRACT between PIERO DA GUA DA PERANA and KING HENRY VIII.

Piero da Guala Perana being bound to the King of England to send him a large supply of bows, but unable to find means for their conveyance owing to the present war, though constantly urged to fulfil his engagement, as seen by the letters from his Majesty now read to the Senate; and it being considered very fitting and to the purpose to gratify his Majesty not only in this but in every matter of greater importance, (most especially as the said noblemen has offered to send the bows from time to time as bound at his own expense, provided the means be given him to hire foreign ships and barkes, and as ships with the sole freight of bows and without wines cannot make the voyage to England)—For to the effect that by authority of the Senate license be given to said Piero to hire one or more foreign barkes and ships, and that he may have the means of sending the bows, he be allowed to load to the amount of 500 butts of Candia wine, his own property and that of others, in such name as shall seem fit to him, the acts passed to the contrary notwithstanding.

Aves. 111. Noes. 43. Neutralis. 0.

Kinfolk ordered to withdraw, and mention made of the laws and penalties.

[London, 17 lines]

103. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [Paris] COURT.

Allude to what the Pope had told him concerning the announcement made by the Scotch ambassador. Remind him that it would be well to urge the King of England to put in execution the offers made by him in case the King of France should come into Italy.

Aves. 142. Noes. 10. Neutralis. 0.

[London, 22 lines]

104. REPORT of LETTERS from the Provosts, CAPTAINS, dated 15th, 26th, 28th, and 10th.

The Cardinal of England who had been besieging the fortress of Genoa, had arrived at Genoa, and was on his march to the camp. Was said to have 2500 Spaniards with him. Comes to reinforce the army. He came into the camp previously, and then foot soldiers, getting no pay from the Pope, had taken the town of Genoa, and then on receiving money they were defeated.

105. REPORT of LETTERS from the Ambassador, HAROT, dated London, 10 April. Friend Good will of King Henry.

[London]

\* On 15th April, 1511, the Pope, in the hope of the battle of Marston, the night of 15th April, 1511, the Pope, who was to have received the red hat as a reward for his services, and he now had him waiting a night, and was the following day of Genoa.



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May 28.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xii. p. 158.

**106.** CONTENTS of LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER, dated London 5 and 6 May, concerning the good will of the King, who purposes doing great things against France should the King of Spain also do the like. He fain would that the agreement with the Emperor should be concluded, but he was nevertheless sending a present of 12 fine coursers to the King of France.

[Italian.]

July 15.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 36.

**107.** The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

Acquaint him with their opinion concerning the league with Spain and England, and how advantageous it would be for all Italy. Ayes, 137. Noes, 7. Neutrals, 0.

[Italian, 62 lines.]

Aug. 4.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 46,  
tergo.

**108.** The SAME to the SAME.

Perceive by his letters of 2nd July that the league between the Pope, England, and Spain is being negotiated, with exclusion of the Signory, unless the latter come to terms with the Emperor. Cannot persuade themselves that the Pope will fail to show them his usual favour.

Ayes, 140. Noes, 44. Neutrals, 0.

[Italian, 39 lines.]

Aug. 4.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xii. p. 266.

**109.** RECEIPT of LETTERS from the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME. Announces that a grand consistory had been held, that the King of France was in possession of Bologna, and that the Pope had written to Spain and England, to the Emperor, and everywhere, remonstrating strongly against this occupation. The Pope has also received advices from England that an envoy of his, by name Hironimo Bonvixi, a Lucchese, whom he sent from Bologna to urge the King of England against France, had revealed everything to the French ambassador; that the King of England hearing this had arrested Bonvixi and written to the Pope, who replied that the King was to do justice upon Bonvixi according to his desert without farther delay. Understands, moreover, that King Henry is well disposed towards the Pope, and most especially since the loss of Bologna, and means to act.

[Italian.]

Aug. 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xii. p. 269.

**110.** READING of LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER, dated London. The most recent the 10th August [*sic*; July?] concerning the good disposition of the King towards aiding the Pope most especially after hearing of the loss of Bologna. Details also the manner in which that Hironimo Bonvixi, the Pope's envoy, who revealed everything to the French ambassador there, was detected. The King, being informed of the circumstance, had him watched; and he and his accomplices were found by night, talking together behind certain walls; so the King caused him to be seized; and when about to rack him, Bonvixi confessed that the charge was true, and that he had been employed by the Cardinal of Pavia. So the King wrote to the Pope all details.





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Badoer also writes for certain that a league had been concluded between the Pope, King of Spain, and King of England, for the preservation of [mutual] territories, and against France, with liberty to include the Emperor and the Signory, when the State shall have made terms with the Emperor.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p48

**111. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.**

Give account of the atrocities committed by the French. Detail the violation and murder of women on the altars of churches, &c. Trust the Pope will write to the Kings of England and Spain, and such others as shall seem fit to him, so that such unheard of iniquities may no longer be perpetrated in Christendom. Wish his Holiness likewise to inform the Emperor.

Ayes, 144. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 44 lines.*]

Aug. 15.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 51.

**112. The SAME to the SAME.**

On that morning had received his letters of the 10th, announcing the conclusion arrived at by the Pope, the Cardinal of York, the Spanish ambassador, and himself. Consider it as advantageous as possible for all. Are also glad that the King of Spain has at length become aware of the ambitious designs of the French, and that he means to oppose them. Charge the ambassador not to delay the settlement of the business, which will cause satisfaction to the King of England, and be commended and approved by him, as stated by the Cardinal of York, whom he is to thank in the Signory's name.

Ayes, 173. Noes, 13. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 44 lines.*]

Aug. 15.  
Patti Sciolti,  
no. 232 (6).

**113. POWER from DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO, authorizing Hironimo Donato, Venetian ambassador at Rome, to negotiate, on behalf of the Signory, a confederacy between Pope Julius II., Ferdinand King of Arragon, Henry VIII., and Venice.**

[*Latin, 35 lines.*]

Aug. 15.  
Patti Sciolti,  
no. 232 (nero).

**114. HENRY VIII. and FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC: Question of Precedence.**

Duplicate of the foregoing power.

Note from the Commemorale (v. xix. p. 164) that in one of the two precedence was given to the King of Arragon, and in the other to the King of England; so that the ambassador might use whichever document seemed most expedient to him.\*

[*Latin, 59 lines.*]

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\* In both the duplicates, Henry VIII. is mentioned *after* the King of Arragon, and this renders the note from the Commemorale necessary.





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Aug. 15.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 51,  
tergo.

115. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

To sign as speedily as possible the league between the Pope, Spain, and the Signory, making mention of the King of England, and alleging the reasons for the acceleration, &c.

Ayes, 172. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 62 lines.]

Aug. 19.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xli. p. 305.

116. CONTENTS OF LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER, dated London, 26th July. Good letters. The King had said to Badoer, "Ambassador! thou wilt soon hear some good news from Rome; and by this time the Signory must know all."

The King had sent 1,000 archers and other troops to assist the Lady Margaret against the Duke of Guelders, who receives subsidy from France.

The Queen-Widow, mother of the late King Edward, had died of plague,\* and the King was troubled. The King had also inquired of the ambassador if he had heard nothing from the Signory. He replied in the negative, and the King thought it strange. Complaints of Badoer that the Signory sends him no advices, and fails to provide him with money for his maintenance.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 26.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 56.

117. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Have received his letters of the 14th June and 10th and 24th July. Learnt the miscarriage of their letters, and that nothing had reached him from the ambassador at the papal court, who, however, informed them he had written constantly through the Cardinal of York. They have done their utmost to effect a reconciliation with the Emperor, but have been unable as yet to do anything farther. The French, together with some of the Emperor's troops, have advanced towards the Venetian territory, perpetrating rapine, arson, violence, and slaughter, even in the churches and at the altars of the Virgin, sparing neither sex nor age, that the like was never heard. Give account of the retreat of the Venetian army in conformity with the very sage suggestions of the King of Spain, and express hopes that the enemy will make no farther progress, beyond the perpetration of their cruelties and most abominable iniquities. Trust likewise that the Emperor, warned of the projects of the French by the Pope, England, and Spain, will act according to his honour and advantage, and for the quiet and security of all Italy and of the Christian religion. Concerning the league, will merely tell him to follow the instructions of the ambassador at the papal court, doing his utmost to induce King Henry to sign it with all possible speed. Is also to persuade the King to favour the attack on Guelders, and to act promptly in that direction, while the Signory reinforce their army; hope to make the French retire with loss. He is to do his utmost that the Guelderland expedition may proceed, as it cannot fail to produce an excellent result. Is to

\* "Item come la Raina Vedova, fô madre dil Re Edoardo, erra morta da peste, et il Re era fastidiato."





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avail himself of the support of all the friends of the Signory, and especially of the Duke of Buckingham, whom he is to thank in the State's name in the most affectionate terms.

Have given him letters of credit for 200 ducats, and shall continue doing so, that he may be enabled to transact their affairs.

Ayes, 131. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 36 lines.*]

Aug. 29.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxiv. p. 74.

**118.** DECREE of the COUNCIL of TEN and the JUNTA, that to Alvise Pisani "of the bank," who is to cause payment of 200 ducats to be made to the nobleman Andrea Badoer in England, there be assigned, according to the form of the order from the College, all the moneys of the "Ternaria vecchia," from the month of January next until the entire liquidation of that sum.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 4 lines.*]

Sept. 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xii. p. 398.

**119.** CONTENTS of LETTERS in cipher from the Ambassador ANDREA BADOER, dated London, 25th July to — August.

Complains that the Signory sends him neither money nor letters. The King was riding over the kingdom, and would return to London in October. His ambassador had departed. Was to meet a Spanish ambassador on the road, and they were then to proceed together to France, to protest to King Lewis that he must surrender Bologna and the other towns of the Church, . . . . .

Also that the English had captured three ships of the Scots at ———.\*

Also that King Henry had sent troops towards Scotland, because King James, although his brother-in-law, takes part with France.

Adds that in Flanders the Lady Margaret is in arms against the of Duke Guelders more actively than ever, and has 20,000 combatants. The King of Spain moreover had drawn towards Rousillon, and had taken possession of the castles of the King of Navarre, for the security of those borders.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 59.

**120.** The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the PAPAL COURT.

Enclose copies of the letters from England, whereby he will perceive the tendency of King Henry.

Ayes 152. Noes 5. Neutrals 0.

[*Italian, 57 lines.*]

Sept. 21.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
xlv. p. 61,  
tergo.

**121.** The SAME to the SAME.

Although there is no longer any occasion for the King of Spain to be scrupulous either about the Emperor or France, yet the league should be made with the clause notified by them in their letters of the 13th and 18th, to the effect that the confederates be bound to prosecute the war against the King of France, and recover the

\* Concerning the capture of Andrew Barton, and his ships the Lion and the Jenny Pirwyn, by Sir Edmund Howard and Lord Thomas Howard, see Hall, p. 525.





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Milanese, that it may be made over to the Emperor for the benefit of his grandson. Are at a loss to comprehend how the League could be styled hostile to the Emperor.

Have seen the summaries of what Sassari wrote about the threatening language used by the King of France to the Spanish ambassador; clearly indicating the extreme ill will borne towards Spain by France, as also the ambitious projects of King Lewis, and the small account in which he holds Spain and England.

Ayes 126. Noes 5. Neutrals 1.

[*Italian, 81 lines.*]

Oct. 8.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 66,  
tergo.

122. The DOGE and SENATE to the CAPTAIN of TREVISO and to the PROVIDITOR GENERAL.

Will have heard by their letters of this morning the conclusion of the League between the Pope, the Kings of Spain and England, and the Signory.

[*Italian, 31 lines.*]

Oct. 8.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 66,  
tergo.

123. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

Have received his letters of the 28th and 30th September, narrating the negotiations for the conclusion of the League between the Pope, Spain, and the Signory, with the intervention of the King of England. Have announced the fact to the Spanish ambassador who was lately accredited to the Emperor, and who has arrived at Venice.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 40 lines.*]

Oct. 13.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 68.

124. The SAME to the SAME.

Expecting to hear that the Cardinal of York has received the "power" (*mandato*) from his King. Doubt not but that both the Pope and the King of Spain will urge the King of England to perform his undertaking.

[*Italian, 59 lines.*]

Oct. 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 113.

125. CONTENTS of LETTERS in cipher from ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England, dated 27th September, by way of Lyons.

The King well disposed towards the Signory—would attack France in the spring. Had sent to request the Emperor to make terms with Venice, and had received for answer that the latter was willing so to do, provided the Signory observed the conditions demanded by him heretofore. Also that the Lady Margaret had gained a victory over the Duke of Guelders; who had fled into France.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 25.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 70,  
tergo.

126. The DOGE and SENATE to the SECRETARY at the [PAPAL] COURT.

Announce the mission to England of the knight Francesco Capello, elected some months previously.

Is to communicate this to the Pope, to the Cardinal of York, and to the Spanish ambassador.





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Conciliatory policy to be adopted with the King of England, to induce him, not merely to join the League, but to show himself openly hostile to the French. The Secretary to remind the Pope of this, and to speak earnestly with the Cardinal of York and the Spanish ambassador.

[*Italian*, 76 lines.]

Nov. 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 152.

**127.** RECEIPT of ADVICES from ROME, where letters had reached the Pope from Dom. Pietro Grifo, his ambassador in England, announcing the peace made by King Henry with his brother-in-law the King of Scotland. Had not as yet heard of the conclusion of the League; but the King was disposed to do everything for the Pope, &c.

[*Italian*.]

Nov. 13.  
Commemoriale,  
v. xix. p. 171,  
tergo.

**128.** LEAGUE for RECOVERY of BOLOGNA.

Ratification by Henry VIII. of the League made at Rome on the 4th October 1511 between Pope Julius II., King Ferdinand of Arragon, and Leonardo Loredano, Doge of Venice, for the recovery of Bologna and defence of the See Apostolic.

Westminster, 13 November, 3 Henry VIII.

[*Countersigned* :] Porter.

[*Latin*, 38 lines.]

Nov. 15.  
Mantuan  
Archives.

**129.** POLYDORE VERGIL to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

Acknowledges the recent receipt of his letters, commissioning him to buy some hobbies, and send them by the Marquis's servant Simon, who is therefore returning with eight, which he (Polydore) could not procure easily, good horses being scarce in England, as they are not well treated when young, being trained under age, and too hard worked. Thinks, however, that those now sent will please the Marquis, but should he not be perfectly satisfied the writer will procure others, the best obtainable.

Simon is going through France, that being the best road. Hopes that under favour of the Marquis, whom the most Christian King loves, Simon will arrive safe, in which case the Marquis might thank his Majesty, whose ambassador in England has given Simon letters all along the road.

London, 15 November 1511.

[*Signed* :] Polydore Vergel (*sic*), Archdeacon of Wells.

[*Latin*.]

Nov. 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 194.

**130.** RECEIPT of LETTERS from ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England, dated 10 October, concerning the King's good will and good words in favour of the Signory. The King had written a good letter to the Emperor, to make terms with the Signory at any rate; and also written to Rome that he would do what the Pope wished, and would be ready in the spring against France. Other details, not given [by Sanuto]. The letters were "good," and in cipher, and came by way of Lyons under cover of Andrea Badoer's son-in-law, Francesco Gradenigo.

[*Italian*.]





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Nov. 26.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 78.

**131. LETTERS PATENT**, for consignment to the Pope, from Doge Leonardo Loredano, ratifying the League stipulated at Rome on the 4th October 1511, between the Signory of Venice, the Pope, and the King of Spain, with the intervention also of the King of England.

[*Latin*, 31 lines.]

Nov. 26.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 81.

**132. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER**, Ambassador in England.

Have lately received his letters of 7th September, and 5th, 10th, and 18th October, announcing his having been with the King, and what his Majesty had done in favour of the Signory and their affairs. Perceiving that the King, the Bishop of Durham [Thomas Ruthal], and the Lord Treasurer [the Earl of Surrey] are surprised at their not writing the Italian news, state that they have written several times since the 26th August; and also charged the late Hieronymo Donato, ambassador at the papal court, to keep him (Badoer) acquainted with events there. Seeing that these letters have not been received, can only suppose that they have been intercepted by the French, as he (Badoer) had stated to the King, to whom they desire him to make the above announcement, and return thanks for his good offices; after which he is to read to his Majesty an Italian newsletter enclosed in the despatch,\* and earnestly to request him to humble the intense pride and arrogance of the French; as the League being now concluded, the Signory is convinced that before the receipt of the present letter, he (the King) will have joined it.

To make the like apology and communication to the Bishop of Durham, to the Lord Treasurer, and to such other privy councillors as he shall think fit, thanking the Bishop and the Treasurer greatly for the affection and good will demonstrated by them towards the State, on whose gratitude they may rely. To give constant notice of all events, including what he shall have heard of the statement made by the ambassador returned from France.

Have lately remitted to him 200 ducats, and will forthwith send as many more; so recommend him to be of good cheer and to serve the State diligently as hitherto, to his praise and commendation.

Ayes, 112.

Proposed amendment—that Badoer is to tell King Henry, that the Signory, being leagued with Spain, will send the galleys to England for the sake of doing what is agreeable and satisfactory to his Majesty.

Ayes, 42. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*, 44 lines.]

\* The news-letter has not been registered. The words in the original are "lo introcluso summario de le nove et occorrentie de qui." These "summaries," or "news-letters," were compiled in the ducal chancery, and transmitted to the Signory's diplomatic agents at foreign courts. Many of them are preserved at Vienna.





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Nov. 26.

**133. LEAGUE for RECOVERY of BOLOGNA.**Commemorative,  
v. xix. p. 171.

Proclamation by Doge Leonardo Loredano, ratifying the League stipulated at Rome on the 4th of October 1511, between Pope Julius II., King Ferdinand of Arragon, and King Henry of England.

Allusion made to supplementary articles dated Rome, 8 October 1511, whereby it was agreed that this confederacy for the defence of Pope Julius and recovery of his dominions, &c., should be observed by the sacred College, in the event of the Pope's death, until the election of his successor.

[*Latin, 35 lines.*]

Dec. 10.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xliv. p. 86,  
tergo.**134. The DOGE and SENATE to LORENZO TRIVISANO, Secretary at the [Papal] Court.**

To remind the Pope and the Spanish ambassador, that the slightest stir made at the present moment by the King of England would bring the affairs of the French to ruin.

[*Italian, 57 lines.*]

Dec. 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 242.**135. CONTENTS of LETTERS from the Secretary TREVISAN, in Rome, dated 27th November to 7th December.**

Had received letters from England, dated 9th November, how the King had seen the articles of the League, and will act and sign it; and is to send an agent to Rome.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 243.**136. CONTENTS of a LETTER received by ZUAN BADOER, Doctor and Knight, from COUNT HIERONIMO PORZIA, dated Rome, 28 November.**

Letters had been received from England from one Piero de Rizo, a papal agent, that he could elicit nothing more from the King, save that he professes readiness to effect an adjustment between the Pope and the Christian powers. Count Porzia had been told by a leading churchman of great ability and experience, that the Cardinal of England had said to him—"I am more afraid of Spain than of France, on account of the uncertainty of his keeping faith, as seen heretofore, although it is a question of his own interest." The Cardinal also stated that the late seizures of several of his King's couriers, both going and coming, was very unfortunate, but should the Emperor accede to terms, the League would be joined by England also, who leans more towards the Emperor's grandson [Charles of Burgundy] than towards Spain.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 245.**137. CONTENTS of two LETTERS from HIRONIMO CAMPANATO to PIERO VENIER, dated Naples, 23rd and 29th November.**

Had heard from the Duke of Montalto, that one of the daughters of the late King Philip of Castile was to marry the son of the Duke of Lorraine, who was to receive Savoy, Languedoc, and the kingdom of Naples after the death [of King Ferdinand], in which case "the great King" [Lewis XII.] would again become "Petit Jean." Had





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heard from the Venetian secretary at Rome that two ambassadors were elected, one for Spain and the other for England.

In date of the 29th, writes that on the preceding day the Duke of Monteleone told him that the old Queen of Naples had shown him advices from England, how the army of King Henry had marched against France.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 15.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 250.

138. The merchant LORENZO PASQUALIGO to his brother FRANCESCO; dated London, 12th November, received at Venice on the 15th December, and seen by Marin Sanuto, who transcribed it thus.

Nothing new, except a proclamation which had been made, forbidding under penalty any native, save lords and knights, to wear silk, their apparel likewise to be restricted, no doublets of any other material than camlet (*zambeloto*) to be worn. This law to take effect from Christmas next; and, to set a good example to the others, the King and the whole House of Lords\* had dressed themselves in long grey cloth gowns in the Hungarian fashion.

This they had done, that their gentry might save their money for the purchase of arms and horses, as nothing else is now talked of. This law was very injurious to the Genoese and Tuscans, who had gone to London with cloths of silk, and should the law remain in force, they would assuredly be unable to remain.

[*Italian.*]

Dec 27.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 273.

139. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER, dated London, 12th November, received by way of Rome, how the King was out of town. Mentions his own conversation with certain individuals, to the effect that within a few days he would hear good news, &c., implying as it were that the King would join the League and attack France in the spring; with other advices.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 28.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 276.

140. ARRIVAL of a MESSENGER from ENGLAND who came through Germany with letters, dated London, 4th December, addressed by the King in Council to his Cardinal [the Archbishop of York] at Rome, desiring him to sign the articles of the League. The messenger reported that England was preparing to make war on France in the spring, and that nothing was to be seen there but military weapons and other like preparations. He also said that the Emperor was 12 leagues beyond Villach, and that it was reported that an agreement would be effected between the Signory and the Emperor.

Letters for the Lord Alberto da Carpi were consigned to this English messenger, who was despatched immediately to Rome by way of Chioggia.

[*Italian.*]

\* Per dar bono exemplo ad altri, el Re con tutta la Corte di Signori,—"all the noblemen of his court," or the "whole House of Lords"—tutti vanna vestiti di panni veste longe al Ongarescha beretine.—In Venetian *Beretin* signifies ash-coloured, greyish.





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Dec. 30.

Misti

Consiglio X.

v. xxxiv. p. 121.

**141. DOMENICO TREVISANO**, Venetian Ambassador with the SOLDAN OF EGYPT, KANSOU AIGOURI.

Commission to him from the Council of Ten and the Junta, instructing him, *inter alia*, if the Soldan ask for cannon founders or shipbuilders, to reply that they are now leagued with the Pope, the King of Spain, and the King of England, and that their doing so would be esteemed unworthy of a Christian power.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 31.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,v. xlv. p. 92,  
tergo.

**142. COMMISSION** to the SAME, to inform the Soldan that, in conformity with the announcement lately made to him about a perpetual League concluded in Rome on 4th October last, between the Pope, the Kings of Spain and England and the Signory, that very powerful armies belonging to the Pope, Spain, and Venice are already in the field, and that the King of England is about to follow their example.

Ayes, 165. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

## A.D. 1512.

Jan. 16.

Sanuto Diaries  
v. xiii. p. 205.

**143. RECEIPT** of LETTERS from ROME, dated from the 7th to the 11th.

Arrival there of the commission from the King of England to the Spanish ambassador and to the Cardinal of York to sign the League in such fashion and at such time as should seem fit to the Spanish ambassador.

The ambassador from Scotland had also arrived in Rome. He came through France, and informed the Pope that King Lewis was willing to renounce the protectorate of Bologna and Ferrara, and to surrender them to the Pope, provided the latter detach himself from the League with Spain and the Signory. The Pope made answer that he would not accept those cities on the conditions proposed, much less abandon the League.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 19.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 97.

**144. The DOGE and SENATE** [to? the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

To return thanks to the Cardinals of Sion and of York for their good disposition towards the State, and assure them that the Signory places no less trust in them than in their own Venetian cardinals.

Ayes, 23.

[*Italian, 23 lines.*]

Feb. 12.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiii. p. 361.

**145. REPORT** of the RECEIPT of LETTERS dated London, 8th January, by Alvise and Francesco Pasqualigo from their brother Lorenzo, how all England was in arms, the reason being, it was said, because the King of Scotland, King Henry's brother-in-law, was waging war against him at the request of France, and that by Candlemas day all England would be in battle array.

[*Italian.*]





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Feb. 27.  
 Senato Mar,  
 v. xvii. p. 149.

**146. DECREE of the SENATE, concerning the TRADE with ENGLAND.**

Allusion to the very great advantages derived from the manufacture of woollens by Venice, where it afforded a livelihood to upwards of 30,000 poor people. Necessity therefore to keep the city well supplied with wools. An estimate made on the 24th July 1511, showed only 562 bags in Venice, including such wool as was milked, spoilt, and old. Subsequently 200 bags had been sold, so that the residue would not give employment for three months. It was therefore requisite to make immediate provision, without regard either for drapers or wool merchants, but merely for the good of the community, apart from all private interests. Motion made accordingly that in like manner as when the voyages of the Flanders galleys were suspended, both Venetians and aliens had been allowed to import wools, cloths, and tin from England, Flanders and Brabant, the same privilege be now conceded, to remain in force until the close of October 1512, the goods being conveyed either by land or water, by any vessels soever, even foreign bottoms. The wools thus loaded to pay half freight to the arsenal, as paid heretofore to the Flanders galleys; and the merchants to be at liberty to insure the goods thus shipped in foreign vessels, any law to the contrary notwithstanding.

Ayes 109.

Proposed amendment to the foregoing decree:—

That, were the foregoing motion carried, it would be decreed not to put the Flanders galleys on the berth, either in the present year or in the year to come; which, besides being contrary to the intention of the Senate, would be highly injurious to the merchants and people of Venice, and also to the duties and to trade, moreover, causing suspicion and displeasure to the Kings of Spain and England, the allies of the Signory, who might reasonably suppose that the Flanders and Barbary galleys would now perform their voyages annually.

Motion made accordingly that, under penalty of 500 golden ducats, each member of the College do within ten days state his opinion concerning the Flanders and Barbary voyages respectively, that such decision may be formed as shall seem fit to the Senate.

Ayes 50. Noes 3. Neutrals 4.

March 3.  
 Sanuto Diaries,  
 v. xiv. p. 8.

**147. READING of LETTERS from ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England, dated 4th January.**

Stale, rancid; nothing of importance. How this summer the Emperor meant to come and take Venice, and would have the Switzers with him. That he knew of two ways of coming; one by St. Erasmus, and another as detailed in said letters; with other follies, and nothing substantial; so that Sanuto pronounces it prejudicial to the State's interest to keep Badoer in England.

[*Italian.*]

March 8.  
 Sanuto Diaries,  
 v. xiv. p. 13.

**148. RECEIPT of LETTERS by the merchants from England, dated 25th February, brought by a messenger express on his way to Rome in haste. This messenger was also the bearer of letters from**





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the ambassador Badoer; how the King appointed three ambassadors to attend the Council which was to have been held at Rome after Easter, namely, the Knight of Rhodes, (the Prior of St. John's,) and two other prelates; but the King stayed their journey because letters arrived from Rome, purporting that the Pope meant to postpone the Council until All Saints' day next. These ambassadors were to have come through Germany, and to have presented themselves to the Signory in Venice; and they dined with Badoer. Badoer had written, demanding money for his maintenance, and saying he had no longer pecuniary means; in other words, casting a reproach on the Signory.

Note by Sanuto that he had read a letter written by Badoer to his son-in-law Francesco Gradenigo, stating that a considerable sum was due to him on account of salary, and that not being supplied with money, he remained in England with small repute.

It was also heard, by letters addressed to Almorò Pisani, that the King had caused all ships to be detained; that the Spanish ambassador is also there; and that it is their intention to fit out a fleet and invade France.

[*Italian.*]

March 16-18. **149.** REPORTS amongst the French in Lombardy, that Eng-Sanuto Diaries, land had declared war against France. Alarm felt by them on this  
v. xiv. p. 27. account, and effect produced on their movements.

[*Italian.*]

March 22.

Misti  
Consiglio X.,  
v. xxxv. p. 4.

**150.** DECREE of the COUNCIL OF TEN and the JUNTA, for payment every month to the agents of Andrea Badoer, the State's ambassador to England, of the moneys granted to him by the Senate for his own expenses and those of his attendants. The treasurer of the Senate to make the payment from time to time from the moneys of the 30 and 40 per cent. set apart for payment of the expenses of the State's ambassadors.

Ayes 27. Noes 1. Neutrals 0.

[*Latin, 6 lines.*]

March 23.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 39.

**151.** RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Venetian AMBASSADOR in ROME, dated the 18th, how the Pope was better of his gout, and had received recent letters from England how the King was making great preparations, and would attack France on the 1st of April.

[*Italian.*]

April 2.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 64.

**152.** READING of LETTERS from the Venetian AMBASSADOR at ROME, from the 23rd to the 27th March.

Receipt there of letters from England, dated the 6th March, how the King's troops were in readiness to invade France, and encamp under Boulogne, and the ships had been prepared. Also that the King of France had dismissed the Spanish ambassador, until now resident at his court, an indication that by this time he is at open war with Spain.

[*Italian.*]





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April 2.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 118.

153. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

Were extremely satisfied to hear that the Kings of Spain and England meant to attack France with powerful armies, so it would be desirable for the Pope to stimulate their Majesties by all such means as shall seem expedient.

Ayes, 167. Noes, 13. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*, 70 lines.]

April 14.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv, p. 81.

154. NOTE by SANUTO that on the preceding day in the Senate, letters were read from Andrea Badoer, ambassador in England, dated 13th March, that some barks had arrived at Hampton for the shipment of 15,000 English archers for Spain, to join the camp of King Ferdinand, which was to attack France. Also that the King of England will attack; the ambassador writing other details about war.

[*Italian*.]

May 1.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 163.

155. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Ambassador BADOER, dated London, from the 1st to 7th April, in cipher.

That after Easter Day, the King was to depart for Hampton, embark the troops, and proceed to attack France. Note by Sanuto that a few days previously bills of exchange had been sent to Badoer for his maintenance, with orders for him to accompany the King, and urge him to attack France, a power waging war on the Church. According to Badoer's letters, the King had 15,000 infantry on ship-board, commanded by the Marquis [of Dorset], which were to cross in the course of the month; and a captain, by name Talbot, the King's steward (*maistro di casa*),\* was raising 30,000 men for an attack in another quarter in Normandy. The English Channel fleet had also taken four Breton ships, one of which was sunk in action. The return of the herald who had been sent to France was expected.

[*Italian*.]

May 4.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 122.

156. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

To hasten through the Pope the attack to be made by the King of Spain and England, which, according to the advices received, must by this time have taken place; for by letters from the ambassador in England, dated 1st April, the troops were to embark on the third Easter holiday; so the Spanish ambassador's account of their being already on ship-board was not verified.

Have this morning forwarded the letters of the Cardinal of York by a courier of their own, as they did a few days ago, paying

\* According to Collins, Vol. 3, p. 19, George Talbot, fourth Earl of Shrewsbury, was constituted Steward of the King's Household, A.D. 1509. Sanuto does not spell the name correctly, but there can be no doubt of Badoer's meaning.





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45 ducats ; to this last have given 50 ducats, which the ambassador is to obtain from the Archbishop, to the credit of the State.

Ayes, 144. Noes, 23. Neutrals, 5.

[*Italian*, 76 lines.]

May 4.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreto,  
v. xlv. p. 122.

157. The DOGE and SENATE to the SWISS DIET.

To hasten, as much as possible, their descent into Italy, so that with the Signory's army now in the Veronese, a stronger attack may be made on the French, or rather on their remains ; the army of the League acting strenuously against them in the rest of Italy ; whilst the Kings of Spain and England are about to invade the confines of France.

Ayes, 141. Noes, 23. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin*, 41 lines.]

May 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 173.

158. CONTENTS of LETTERS addressed to the Provveditor CAPELLO at Vicenza, in cipher, by the MARQUIS OF MANTUA, dated Mantua the 3rd.

Advices received by him from France that the herald of the King of England had arrived there, and declared war against King Lewis ; and when, as customary, he desired to make the proclamation publicly, in his tabard, he was not allowed to do so, for fear of the populace. The letters from France were dated 25th April, and the Marquis added that the Emperor's ambassador at the French court told the King that his master had made a truce with the Signory, giving him to understand on behalf of the Emperor that he was not to take any more towns in Italy, as the Emperor would not allow it. By these letters it was also understood that in lieu of Mons. de Foix [Gaston], who was killed at Ravenna, the King had appointed as grand master of Milan Mons. de —, who was to come from France into Italy.

[*Italian*.]

May 11.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 187.

159. READING in the SENATE on that morning of letters from the ambassador in England, dated 30th April and 1st May, complaining of want of money for his maintenance ; also stating that all England is in arms, and that France will be invaded. These letters came by way of Germany, together with others from the Venetian consul Lorenzo Pasqualigo, dated London, 30th March, to his brothers, in the terms following :—

“ After Easter the King will go to Hampton to speed the embarkation of the troops, as his Majesty himself told me, talking moreover of many things, with which I will acquaint you in my next in our own cipher.

“ The Emperor is at the waters, in Brabant. It is said he will wage war on Guelders. We do not know whether with us he is at peace or war.

“ Two vessels at Hampton, laden with wools for Leghorn and kerseys for Scio, have now to unship their cargoes, as the King needs transports, nor will there be any to spare. You will hear of a great war, Spain and these English on one side, and those excommunicated dogs on the other ; so that we must talk of something





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besides trade. The English are preparing as fast as possible, and, according to report, will land from three points, disembarking 20,000 men at each. It is not known where. At Hampton there are some hundred ships, the most part Spanish. Yesterday they received their pay, and the Marquis [of Dorset] is Captain General, with 20,000 men. It is said he will cross over to Gascony, and that the King of Spain is on those borders with a considerable force, and awaits nothing but these English. I hope to God they will avenge our wrongs and prove victorious throughout. After Easter I shall go to Hampton to witness the embarkation of such fine troops, for it will be a very grand sight, that of the lords and knights and prime soldiery who accompany the Marquis. May God guide them wherever they go! They will succeed with honour according to their custom. They will do what is possible, for they have the means, both money and brave men. They have already dismissed the French ambassador; so the French throughout the island are daily making their escape from fear."

[Italian.]

May 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 188.

160. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Proveditor CAPELLO, announcing news in the date of the 10th from Mantua, where advices had arrived from France of the 27th April, announcing that the English were then in readiness to cross over for the invasion of France.

[Italian.]

May 15.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 126,  
tergo.

161. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

To do his utmost to prevent the Pope from sending a power to Sassari,\* as it would produce an effect contrary to the desire of his Holiness; and to exhort the Pope to let all understand that he is averse to agreement with the French, in order not to mar or slacken the proceedings of the Kings of Spain and England, or those of the Switzers, who are reported to be coming down in very great force, the Cardinal of Sion having quitted Venice this morning.

[Italian, 70 lines.]

May 18.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 200.

162. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Signory's AMBASSADOR at ROME, how on Monday the Pope held the second session [of the Council General] at St. John's of the Lateran.

The third session was to be held on the 17th, when the entry into the League of the King of England would be proclaimed, he having by his letters, dated 26th April, sent an ample power to the Spanish ambassador to sign the League in his name. Bonfires and rejoicings were to be made, and the Venetian ambassador suggests that the like should be done at Venice, and in the Signory's towns, to give repute to the matter. Sends also a copy of the power, adding that, in said session of the 17th, the Council would be prorogued until All Saints' Day, to give time for the arrival of the Transalpiners, when the acts of the schismatic cardinals would be cancelled.

[Italian.]

\* Concerning Sassari, see Mr. Brewer's Calendar, date 25 September 1511 (vol. i. no. 1869.)





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May 18.

Commemoriale,  
vol. xix. p. 172.

**163.** PROCLAMATION in ST. MARK'S CHURCH of notice received by Doge Leonardo Loredano that Henry VIII. had concluded the League signed some months ago between the Pope and the whole sacred College, King Ferdinand of Arragon, and the Signory, the entire conclusion having been negotiated by the Right Reverend Lord Christopher of York, Cardinal of England; the which League had been solemnly published in Venice on the 20th October 1511.

[*Latin, 22 lines.*]

May 22.

Deliberationi  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 127,  
tergo.

**164.** The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

With regard to the treaty of agreement with the King of France, are certain that the Pope will remain firm and not to listen to it, as he perceives how said King answered the proposals sent. The recal of 400 spears from Italy, in the midst of such great need, proves how much fear the French have of the preparations of the Kings of Spain and England.

[*Italian, 82 lines.*]

May 24.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 217.

**165.** CALENDAR of PRIVATE LETTERS from ROME, written by a certain FRIAR ANGELO, dated 21st May (*sic*).

Then, on that morning of the 21st, the Pope entered the place of meeting of Council, and, after the Cardinal of Strigonia had sung mass and the oration had been made by the General of the Dominicans, a brief was read to the effect that the Pope, having been made acquainted with the wish of the King of England to join the League with him and the other confederates, thought fit to have read in public the King's letter to that effect, and this was done accordingly. The letter was signed in the King's own hand, and sealed with his great seal, and purported that he had joined the League with the Pope and the King of Spain, styled by him his father, and the nobleman Leonardo Loredano and the Venetian Signory; promising on the word of a King to observe the League and confederation, and to peril everything for the recovery of Bologna and other towns of the Church, occupied by a tyrant (*sic*), and for the defence of each of the confederates, on condition that none of them may make either truce or peace, or any other convention, without the common consent of the allies; not binding himself to bring an army into Italy, from its distance and by reason of other impediments, but being pledged to wage war in every other quarter where expedient. The letters were dated the 13th November.

After this the Spanish ambassador said a few words, which were inaudible, owing to the great crowd, and then went to the Pope's feet and presented a letter from the King of Spain, which was likewise read in public, of the following tenour:—That his Majesty, understanding that a conventicle of schismatic prelates had been summoned at Pisa, to the detriment of holy mother Church, whose humble son he was, and to the dishonour of the most holy Pope Julius, whom he confessed to be the true Pope, and juridically elected, had determined to act for the destruction of said conventicle and that the Council called by the Pope might take effect;

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May 18.

Comments by  
vol. xix. p. 112.

188. PROCLAMATION in ST MARK'S CHURCH of Venice regarding the Pope's declaration that Henry VIII. had concluded the League signed some months ago between the Pope and the whole sacred College, King Ferdinand of Aragon, and the King, the entire conclusion having been negotiated by the Right Reverend Lord Christopher of York, Cardinal of England; the which League had been solemnly published in Venice on the 20th October 1511.

[Latin, 22 lines]

189. The Duke and SEXATE to the Ambassador at the [TARAT] COURT.

With regard to the treaty of agreement with the King of France, we are certain that the Pope will remain firm and not to listen to it as he perceives how said King answered the proposed suit. The result of 400 years from Italy, in the midst of such great and powerful much fear the French have of the preparations of the Kings of Spain and England.

[Latin, 22 lines]

May 22.

Deliberation  
Secreta Secreta  
v. xix. p. 112.  
v. xix. p. 112.

189. CARRERAS of PRIVATE LETTERS from Rome written by

May 24.

Secreta Secreta  
v. xix. p. 112.

a certain Brian AKAHO, dated 21st May 1511.  
Then, on that morning of the 21st, the Pope entered the place of meeting of Council, and after the Cardinal of Aragon had said mass and the oration had been made by the Cardinal of the Roman Curia, a brief was read to the effect that the Pope, having been made acquainted with the wish of the King of England to join the League with him and the other confederates, thought fit to have read in public the King's letter to that effect, and this was done accordingly. The letter was signed in the King's own hand, and sealed with his great seal, and purporting that he had joined the League with the Pope and the King of Spain, styled by his father, and the noblesman Leonardo between the League and the League, protesting on the word of a King to observe the League and confederation and to fulfil everything for the service of God and other towns of the Church, occupied by a great body, and for the defence of each of the confederates, no condition was made of them any more either true or false, or any other condition, without the common consent of the allies, not binding himself to bring an army into Italy from the distance and by means of other impediment, but being obliged to wage war in every other quarter where expedient. The letters were dated the 11th November.

After this the Spanish ambassador said a few words, which were inaudible owing to the great crowd, and then went to the Pope's feet and presented a letter from the King of Spain, which was likewise read in public of the following tenor:—That his Majesty, understanding that a considerable number of nobles, Clergy, and summoned at Pisa, to the detriment of his mother Church, whose humble son he was, and to the detriment of the great help of Italy, when he confessed to be the true Pope, and particularly elected had determined to put the destruction of said canon, like and that the Council called by the Pope might take effect;



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and as his Majesty was at a distance, he appointed his said ambassador in Rome his procurator, for himself and for his daughter the Queen of Spain, and authorized him to expend money.

The letter was a large one, on parchment, well composed. And thus, as regards war, this ambassador is another King of Spain in Italy.

After this all strangers withdrew, and the members of the Council went in their pontifical robes to tender obedience to the Pope; then certain orations having been made, the litanies were sung, and a bull on behalf of the Pope and Council was read, whereby the conventicle of Pisa was annulled. The Council was then prorogued until the 4th of November, and thus until then nothing more will be done about the Council. In conclusion the *Te Deum* was sung.

The Pope was to remain for the night at San Piero ad Vincula and return to St. Peter's on the morrow. This much had taken place down to the 17th May (*sic*).

Account of military movements, and report that 100 French spears had recrossed the Alps to succour France, as the King of England had attacked her. The Lord of Carpi expected at Rome, as also an ambassador from France, the chief president of the Parliament of Milan. It was hoped at Rome that matters would proceed favourably, and that the Pope would not make peace with France, although the King wishes it. It was said that Prospero Colonna had gone to Naples, and that the King of Spain wrote to the Viceroy, "I much regret the death of my brother-in-law, the Grand Master of Milan [Gaston de Foix], and yet more do I lament his life." The Pope had deprived the Vicar General of the Servites for having gone to the Conventicle of Pisa, and would do the like by all who attended it.

On Monday evening great rejoicings were made for the League with England.

Friar Angelo adds that the Bishop Colonna and some others of his faction had resumed their allegiance to the Pope, and would take his pay after the 4th of June, being until then the soldiers of France. It was hoped the Emperor would join the League. There was no other news.

[*Italian.*]

May 24. 166. TRANSCRIPT of the PROCLAMATION from Henry VIII.,  
*Sanuto Diaries*, v. xiv. p. 218. announcing his adherence to the League between the Pope, Spain, and Venice, for the recovery of the Papal States occupied by Lewis XII. Dated, Westminster, 13 November, 3 Henry VIII. [1511]; [*as in the Commemoriale, vol. xix. p. 171, tergo*].

[*Latin.*]

May 24. 167. ELECTION, decreed by the Council of Ten and the  
*Misti Consiglio X.*, v. xxxv. p. 28. Junta, of one of the hostages on their way to Germany, in the stead of Francesco Capello, knight, appointed ambassador to England, at the option of the Senate.

Person elected, Alvise Bon, Doctor.

[*Latin 2½ lines.*]





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May 25.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 223.

**168. ARRIVAL of a KING'S COURIER from England with letters for the Pasqualigi of London, dated the 6th, from the Consul Lorenzo Pasqualigo.** How the King was gone to Hampton to embark the troops, and cross over to France. Had chartered upwards of 100 ships and vessels for conveyance of the troops and provisions. Had salted 25,000 oxen, so that the price of meat had risen from 1*d.* to 3*d.* (*soldi*) per pound. The King's fleet had apparently captured ten Breton barks and four Spanish vessels, on board of which were goods belonging to the merchants of Florence and Genoa, who complained to the King, but his Majesty declared the prize to be lawful, as said merchants, holding to France, are excommunicated and accursed on account of their being opposed to the Church.

Also, that King Henry had made peace with his brother-in-law, the King of Scotland.

The courier who brought this news was on his way to Rome with letters to the Pope from the King of England, from the King of Scotland, from the Emperor, who was at Mechlin, and from the Lady Margaret of Burgundy, who was busy waging war on the Duke of Guelders.

Said courier was also conveying to the Pope from the King twelve white caps (*berrette blanche*), and so in the evening he was dispatched to Rome.

[*Italian.*]

May 31.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 239.

**169. HENRY VIII. to CARDINAL BAINBRIDGE.**

Alludes to the Cardinal's last letters, mentioning the Pope's intention of holding a general council shortly after Easter, and his wish that it should be attended by ambassadors from England. Had therefore appointed special ambassadors, who were ready to depart, when on St. Gregory's Day [9th May], he received news of the battle of Ravenna, fought on Easter Day [11th April] by the allied armies of the Pope, and his very dear father the King of Spain, against the French. Was informed of the great slaughter effected there, including that of the French commanders, about the captives, and also of the other (*sic*) cruelties committed by the French.

This intelligence has been announced to him so vaguely that as yet he is still ignorant of the truth, some affirming that the Viceroy was captured, and the whole army destroyed; others that all the great captains of the French army were either killed or wounded; others again assert that although the French gained a victory, they suffered most. From others has understood that the Viceroy [Ugo de Cardona] was safe, with a considerable amount of horse and foot; that the Switzers had declared themselves hostile to the French, in defence of the Church, and that the Venetian Signory had mustered a good army for the like purpose; the Pope having also recruited his forces, to effect a junction with the Viceroy, who was said to be expecting a reinforcement of 7,000 men from Spain; that the King of the French had recalled his army from the Romagna; that Ravenna and other cities of that province had been cruelly pillaged and given over to the schismatic cardinals, with sundry other stories, to





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which he could not give credit. Has therefore delayed sending his ambassadors to Rome until these things were at an end; but has never in the midst of this mishap, and of these contradictory stories, changed his intention of defending the Church and protecting the Pope; and in accordance with his commencement so would he in reality persevere.

Informs the Cardinal that his fleet of 6,000 men is now at sea, well supplied with provisions and great guns. That it has already captured twelve ships belonging to the Bretons and the French. That another force of 12,000 men is ready to march against Guienne and Gascony, there to coalesce with a numerous army raised by his father the King of Spain, its cost to be defrayed by them conjointly. That he (the King) is at Hampton, having gone on board the ships, and is of opinion that, for its number, never had a finer army been seen, or one better disposed to die courageously in defence of the Church and the Pope, as the indulgence sent by him has marvellously roused them against its foes, whom they consider Turks, heretics, and Infidels.

Believes therefore that, under God's favour, his army will behave itself right gallantly, and confound the malice and tyranny of those who, by fair means or foul, oppress the Church of God and favour the great schism, which will take effect, unless Catholic princes resist it. Will never fail acting thus, and desires the Cardinal of York to comfort and encourage the Pope not to lay aside his Christian intention, but confide in Almighty God and in the help of the majority of good Christian princes, who both ought and desire so to unite against the enemies of the Church, that they cannot escape defeat, as he himself in person purposed with his whole power to attack the foes of the Church.

Is to urge the Pope to attack the French, whom he styles the foes not only of the Church but of all Christians, so that the slaughter of Ravenna may be avenged. Writes that should the winds be fair his army will reach Guienne in a fortnight. That his kinswoman the Lady Margaret has earnestly requested him to recommend the Bishop of Maurienne for the dignity of Cardinal, and he asks him (the Archbishop of York) diligently to press the matter.

6 May, 1512. Ex——.

[Copy, Latin, 1½ page.]

June 4. 170. READING of LETTERS from the Ambassador ANDREA BASSANO in England, taken out of cipher, dated 23rd and 29th April, and 1st and 5th May, received by way of Germany. Announces the preparations making by the King for a descent in France. Will have 270 ships including his own and those of Spain, but many would be loaded with provisions. Had sent the infantry on board to cruise, and meant to embark the rest, these footsoldiers being destined to join the army of Spain for the attack on Fonterabia.

The Spanish ambassador in England had told the King that the rout of the Spaniards at Ravenna was caused by the Venetians not having sent their troops to make a diversion towards Ferrara, and that the loss of Brescia was not owing to the Spaniards.





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Writes also that he had obtained 400 ducats from the Prior of St. John's on a bill of exchange, without loss to the Signory; would otherwise have lacked the means of subsistence, &c., &c.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxix. p. 32.

171. DECREE of the COUNCIL of TEN and the Junta, that the bank or banks which shall disburse the moneys required for the despatch of the ambassadors appointed to England and Spain, namely 750 ducats for each, have payment secured to them on the moneys of the 30 and 40 per cent. in rates, namely, 400 ducats per month, until the entire repayment; the treasurer of that chest not to dispose of said moneys until after said repayment under the criminal penalty.

[*Latin, 8 lines.*]

June 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 267.

172. CONTENTS of a LETTER seen by Marin Sanuto, from "that" Friar Angelo, dated Rome, 31st May and 1st June. Arrival there of a courier from England who had passed through Venice. Said there were 50,000 combatants on board 50 ships, for conveyance across, and that the King was at Hampton speeding the expedition. Report at Rome on the 1st June of the arrival at Naples of 3,000 Spaniards, and that "the Great Captain" was expected daily. That the King of England had offered a considerable amount of troops to the Pope, besides those given by him to Spain. Current rumour that the King of France had exalted a certain individual, son of the deceased sister of the King, who was killed by the late King of England,\* it being said that he purposes sending him to England, and helping him to the crown. On the preceding day, Friar Angelo had seen a letter addressed by the secretary of the King of England to Turand (*sic*), purporting that unless the Almighty take up arms for the French it is impossible for the latter to avoid ruin.

[*Italian.*]

June 8.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 5,  
tergo.

173. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the PAPAL COURT.

Have been very much pleased with the news from England, and expect hourly to hear yet better. According to his suggestion send letters for the Cardinal of York, and also to the other Cardinals.

Ayes, 166. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 47 lines.*]

June 17.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 300.

174. EXTRACTS from LETTERS dated London 27-29th May, 1512, received at Venice on the 14th June, written by Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers Alvise and Francesco.

Had been to the court about "that business," and talked with the King, who said to him--"I marvel that the Signory should never have written me a letter, seeing what a friend I am for her, as for her sake I shall wage this war on France, so that she

\*The person here alluded to was Richard de la Pole, son of John de la Pole, by Elizabeth Plantagenet, sister of Edward IV. and Richard III. Richard de la Pole was killed at the battle of Pavia, in 1525.





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may recover her territory, and for this she ought to thank me." Reply of Pasqualigo, that thanks had been returned by the ambassador, and admission of the fact by the King, who however continued, "Yet would a letter from the State produce a different effect, for I should have it read to my Council. It would be to my satisfaction, and to the Signory's advantage, with so many lords and counsellors; and thou seest that had it not been for the apprehension of my power entertained by the King of France, he would at least have sent into Italy the 1,000 spears and 12,000 infantry whom he keeps at Asti; and had they taken the field before the march of the Switzers, he would have been victorious." Apologies, to the best of his ability, made by Lorenzo Pasqualigo, who stated—"On quitting his Majesty, I went to the Friend, who is now one of the chief members of the King's council, and loves the Signory and the Venetian nation greatly, and after much discourse about this war with France, both in Italy and here, he said to me he was surprised that for so long a while the Signory should never have written to the King to thank him for having undertaken this expedition against the French, because if he went it was for love of us; and by reason of the love borne by him and his forefathers to the Signory, France was prevented doing what she wanted in Italy against the State and others; and although many thanks had been given through the ambassador, yet did the Signory's omission seem very strange to the whole Council, for there are always those who cause irritation. The Friend had told him to let the Doge know that it would be well to write a very bland letter to his Majesty, making it appear that they acknowledge all his acts, and also to thank his Council; and that for this once, they should give the King notice how matters are proceeding, and address it to the ambassador for delivery, that the King may be yet more confirmed in this good resolve of doing what he can against those who are excommunicated, and not give ear to the gossip of many, who are constantly putting new projects into his head; so do this by all means." Thanks given by Lorenzo Pasqualigo to "the Friend," whom he told that the Signory, and all the nobility of Venice, well knew that he was the State's good protector.

Says he took his leave of "the Friend" thus. Adds that all the troops were embarked. The 15,000 infantry in the Isle of Wight, very fine men, well supplied with everything, will invade Gascony. Letters from Spain announce that they would be joined by a considerable force at Fonterabia. In a few days 6,000 more were to embark for the same destination, the muster proceeding with all speed. The King's steward would also cross over to Calais with 20,000 men, whom he was raising with the greatest possible haste; and his Majesty in person was moreover going shortly with 20,000 more, commanded by the Captain Thalabet (*sic*), all in readiness as if they were to cross on the morrow. Nothing thought of but arms and war; and so much artillery and other camp-furniture had been wrought, that the sums expended and in course of expenditure, would fill a well of gold; and ammunition-hoys (*scuti de monition*) arrive daily





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from Flanders and Upper Germany; wherefore Pasqualigo desires his brothers to rest assured that "with God's assistance the English will make these French dogs cry mercy, as they have done many times of yore; though this present war will commence first in Gascony."

In the Channel there were 30 large ships armed by Englishmen, which do not allow so much as a French fishing boat to put to sea without taking it. Report that some French vessels were fitted out, but did not dare show themselves. Certain ships from Scio and Candia were expected with goods belonging to the Genoese and Florentines, which, if fallen in with, would be plundered, as was the case on former occasions when they made prizes, and would give back nothing.

Says in conclusion, "These foreigners remain here in great fear, and keep their tongue within their teeth, for they dare not speak ill of the League; but if they do give utterance, it is to abuse France, perhaps unwillingly, as were they to do otherwise, their heads would be well broken. They have had much fair weather. God be thanked it is our turn now!"

[*Italian.*]

June 22.

Library of the  
Venetian  
Archives,  
Miscell. no. 51.

**175. PROTEST of a BILL of EXCHANGE for 1,500 ducats.**

Drawn at Venice at usance plus one month on the 22nd June 1512, by Pollo di Priolli, son of the late Dominico, on Nicolò Duodo and Company in London, payable to Lorenzo Pasquaglio, at the exchange of  $54\frac{1}{2}$  sterlings per ducat. Protest registered by the notary public (by holy apostolic and imperial authority) John Devereux, at his dwelling in Lombard Street, parish of St. Mary's Woolnoth, on the 29th October, 1512; the bill-broker, Luca Antonio de Albizzi, certifying that on that day in London the ducat was worth  $51\frac{3}{4}$ d. sterling.

June 26.

Sanuto Diaries.  
v. xiv. p. 301.

**176. RECEIPT of LETTERS from the Venetian Ambassador in Rome, dated 21st and 22nd June.**

How in consistory letters had been read from the King of England to the Cardinal of York, as also his Majesty's answer to a letter received from the Emperor, urging him to make a universal peace, and to march against the Infidels. Sage reply of the King, that he neither can nor will make peace without the consent of the League. Of these letters transmits copies. Gives also other details, and acquaints the chiefs of the Ten with conversations held between him and the Pope, &c.

[*Italian.*]

June 26.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 332.

**177. HENRY VIII. to CARDINAL BAINBRIDGE, English Ambassador at Rome.**

Has lately received letters from the Emperor earnestly exhorting him to consent to a general and universal peace to be settled





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amongst all Christian powers, so that an expedition may be undertaken against the Turks and Infidels.

Is aware that this exhortation proceeded from the King of the French, through his ambassadors then at the court of the Emperor, and that, under this pretext of a peace which he had no intention to realize, he would endeavour to recruit and augment his forces, so as to take revenge on those who hindered him from obtaining his wish and desire against the Church of God, and from persecuting the Pope.

Has answered the Emperor, as the Cardinal of York will comprehend by the accompanying copy, which he is to communicate to the Pope, assuring him that the English ambassadors have already arrived in Brabant, and are now with the Emperor for the purpose of discussing such matters as may most conduce to the defence of the Church and of the Pope. Trusts that the Emperor, being the head of all Christian princes, and it appertaining especially to his office to defend the Church, will now enter the most holy alliance.

Will transmit the Emperor's reply by the next courier to the Cardinal, whom he desires to inform the Pope that the King of Scots, at the instigation of the King of the French, has written to him to arrange this peace, and consent that he (the King of Scots) should negotiate the matter with the Pope and the Kings of Spain and France; the English ambassadors at his Court being also urged by him with all his might to write earnestly to their King on the same subject, and induce him to incline towards this universal peace.

Has given nearly the same answer to these solicitations of the King of Scots as to the Emperor, showing that he would willingly adhere to so pious a project, if it could be realized consistently with his honour; but as by the alliance between England and Spain he is bound not to make peace with any other power without the consent of the Pope, he has therefore requested the King of Scots to take this excuse in good part, assuring him that he neither could nor would break faith with his confederates.

Desires the Cardinal, should application relative to this peace be made to the Pope, to request him to observe the articles of the holy alliance, as the Pope and the King of Spain have now recruited their army in Italy, as the Switzers have declared their intention of invading the duchy of Milan, and as his (the King's) own army has quitted England for Guienne and Gascony, to join another powerful host mustered by his father Ferdinand the Catholic; the Venetian Signory's forces also being in perfect readiness.

Should the Pope warmly exhort said armies to do the work well, the Church would doubtless be freed from all persecutions, schism, and tyranny, and her enemies extirpated for ever.

Requests the Cardinal to advance this policy, and to inform the Pope that he (the King) is ready to risk his goods, life, and kingdom for the maintenance of his Holiness and of the Church; and in conclusion prays the Cardinal to let him know with the





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utmost speed all that is passing at Rome, and especially with regard to the extermination of the schismatics.\*

29th of May, 1512. [*No date of place.*]

[*Copy. Latin, 72 lines.*]

June 26.

178. HENRY VIII. to the EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 334.

Has read the Emperor's letter, whereby he deplored the effusion within the year of Christian blood, and the recent loss of so many valiant men,† by whose aid not only might Europe have been wrested from the Infidel, but much gained even in Asia, where the dissensions of the Infidels among themselves afforded a favourable opportunity for successful action.

In reply to the Emperor's exhortation that he should undertake this expedition, and establish concord among the Christian powers, asserts his belief that no sovereign in Christendom was ever more ardently bent on such an attack than his late father who, with the King of Portugal, discussed the matter very seriously, and (as known by him, King Henry, for certain) would have effected something worthy of a Christian prince, had not the project been frustrated by the decrees of providence.

On his father's death, he derived from him this same ardour against the Infidels; he cherished it like an heir-loom, and at the commencement of his reign thought of nothing else, being confirmed in his intention by seeing his father-in-law with a numerous fleet steering against them. Whilst, however, the King of Arragon and himself were thus intent, the Pope's repeated complaints called their attention elsewhere, because they who should be the foremost to defend the Church and preserve its unity with all their might,—who moreover, choose to be styled "most Christian,—" then lacerated the seamless garment of our Lord Jesus Christ, snatched St. Peter's patrimony, took the cities of holy Roman Church, and fostered petty tyrants in them, threatening chains, dungeons, and everything most atrocious to the Pope himself.

On being acquainted with these facts, he, in union with the King of Arragon, remonstrated vigorously against such outrages, though their friendly and fraternal admonition was treated with contempt by the French, who shortly afterwards, in hatred as it were of England and Spain, commenced harassing the Pope more than previously, and showed a worse than Turkish cruelty, shedding blood, plundering and burning universally, slaughtering aged men women, and infants; violating virgins consecrated to God, and,—what the Gentiles of old and the most barbarous of men were wont most scrupulously to spare—profaning churches and altars with innocent blood. They promulgated more pertinaciously than ever that "most pestilent schism," the affinity of which to heresy is well known to the Emperor. In short, they omitted no act of cruel impiety and nefarious villany. When these circumstances were made known to him, mindful of his duty to the Pope and

\* Namely the Cardinals and others who had assembled the Conventicle of Pisa.

† Allusion doubtless to the battle of Ravenna.





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most holy Roman Church, he renounced all other projects, and, together with the King of Arragon, decided to take up arms in defence of the Church.

Hoped thus to avenge the wrongs of the Church, being of opinion that this would prove as acceptable to the Almighty as if he actually fought against the Turks or Saracens, and that those who fell in this most holy and pious cause, would obtain the rewards of life everlasting. Now, at last, these foes of the Church, perceiving that their impious and nefarious crimes have caused a great part of Christendom to league against them, pretend, with their usual cunning and innate fraud, that they are seeking that peace which they have hitherto most insolently spurned, their object being to plot against the allies. They should be met with that war which they have sought. Professes himself not averse to peace, if it were just and free from fraud, especially when backed by the Emperor's paternal exhortations. With regard to himself, even if inclined to make peace with them, he is no longer at liberty to do so, being so bound to his confederates that, without consulting them, he can do nothing in the matter.

Believes that under pretence of this peace, much fraud and warfare are concealed, and is therefore so averse to condescend to it, that again and again does he request the Emperor, as the head of all Christian princes and the principal protector of holy Roman Church, to take up this most piteous case of that Church, and join the most holy league for the sake of requiting with the avenging sword the signal injuries (by no means few in number) inflicted by those enemies on the Pope in person, on holy Roman Church, and of yore on the Emperor himself; by which means he will purchase security for his most illustrious grandson, and glory and immortal rewards for himself individually.

[No date of time or place, but written apparently from London or Greenwich in May 1512. Copy, Latin, 94 lines.]

July 3.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 16.

179. COMMISSION from DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to FRANCESCO CAPELLO, Knight, Ambassador to Henry VIII.

To proceed to the King of England by the road which shall seem the shortest to him, and to announce himself as the successor of Andrea Badoer, who has leave to return home. To negotiate all such matters as shall be needed from day to day, relating especially to the continuance of the most holy League, which they mean to maintain inviolate. To assure the King that from the State and all its forces he may promise himself all that he could desire from true and good friends; and by these and similar expressions to do his utmost to convince the King of the Signory's love and good will. Give no instructions about apologising for the delay of his mission, as they are confident he (Capello) will know how to excuse himself by asserting, with truth, that it had been impossible sooner to obtain the safeconduct from the Emperor. To praise the King for having joined the League, and for his operations in its favour; to which were due the release not only of Italy, but of the whole of Christendom. To congratulate him on the successes obtained,





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and to tell him that they trust to his wisdom no less than to his power. To endeavour to persuade him both to persevere in the undertaking commenced against France, and to induce the King of Spain to do the like.

Have furnished him with copies of the articles of the League between the Pope, Spain, England, and the Signory, and of the clauses of the truces between the Emperor and the Signory, and their ratification. Do not recapitulate the arguments employed in their negotiations for the reconciliation with the Emperor, as he (Capello) is well acquainted with them, but remind him that, in his discourse throughout, he is to be cautious, and seek that the King may favour the Signory.

To visit Queen Katharine, and address her in such language as becoming the good will borne by them both towards her husband and the Catholic King her father; and so as to render her the Signory's friend.

To do the like by the Bishop of Winchester [Richard Fox], who has shown himself well inclined to the State; and by all such others of the privy councillors, prelates, and others, as he may think fit, and according to the information received from Andrea Badoer. To remain with Badoer for a few days, and receive from him such instructions and information as may benefit the Republic's interests; and then is to tell him to return home after obtaining gracious leave of the King. Should the King say anything about the galleys, is to apologize for the Signory, on the plea of having been unable to send them of late, owing to the wars; and add, that the State is thoroughly disposed to undertake the voyage as soon as it can be made in safety. For his guidance enclose copies of letters written by the King to the Cardinal of York, his ambassador at the papal court, and also of the King's replies to the Emperor; it being requisite that he (Capello) should have cognizance of all Italian news down to the present day, so that he may communicate it to the King should it not have already reached England.

Remind him, however, that whenever he shall have occasion to mention the Pope and the King of Spain, he is to do so in such form as becoming the respect and devotion borne by the State to his Holiness, and in conformity with the great goodwill and love which they entertain for his Catholic Majesty. He is also to keep the State acquainted with all events worthy of its knowledge by means of frequent and copious letters.

Should he on the road fall in with the Emperor and obtain audience of him, is to present the letters of credence with which he has been furnished, to refer to the promptitude with which the Signory has accepted the truces immediately on their being offered, and to express the hope, from such a good beginning, that the renewal will be effected of the loving and respectful sentiments ever entertained by the State for the Emperor and the whole house of Austria; and say that to prove their readiness to gratify the Emperor, although the truces have been stipulated with the conditions known to him, the Signory will add 10,000 ducats, and also concede the prisoners, whose ransom would have yielded a considerable sum. With these and other general expressions, after





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acquainting the Emperor with the object of his mission, is to take leave of him and proceed on his way.

Should the opportunity present itself, is to perform a like office with the Lady Margaret and any other princes of Germany, amplifying or diminishing his compliments according to circumstances.

On his journey, is to obtain, if possible, from the Emperor or his agents, and from the Lady Margaret, a safeconduct for Badoer, securing his return home.

Is to take with him attendants according to his election, and eight horses, comprising those of his secretary and of his servant; his monthly salary being 120 ducats.

Badoer to be supplied with bills of exchange for 300 ducats, that he may have the means of returning home.

Ayes, 164. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 93 lines.]

July 4. 180. RECEIPT of NEWS from Trent by the Spanish ambassador, sador in Venice, that the English army had landed and advanced far into France, routing the King's troops and taking a town called Albret.

[*Italian*.]

July 6. 181. LETTERS of CREDENCE decreed by the Council of Ten in favour of the secretary Alvise di Piero, accredited to the Confederacy of Upper Germany assembled at Turego (*sic*), where representatives from the Signory and from the Kings of Spain and England are to assemble.

[*Latin*, 11 lines.]

July 29. 182. CONTENTS of STALE LETTERS from the ambassador BADOER, in date of June, brought by the papal nuncio. Badoer speaks of the troops on shipboard, in number 8,000, who on the 3rd June set sail for Calais, as the wind was fair. Supposes they got across. Mentions also the great preparations making, and that the King in person would cross at the end of the month with 100,000 men, and embark (*sic*) at Calais. Details other particulars and conversations held by him, and how Dom. Pietro Griffio, who had been residing there in the Pope's name, was on his way back to Rome.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 17. 183. LORENZO PASQUALIGO to his brothers ALVISE and FRANCESCO PASQUALIGO in Venice.

Dated London, 14 July 1512; received on the — August.

Receipt at the court of letters from Fonterabia from the Marquis [of Dorset, Thomas Grey], his Majesty's commander, dated the 1st July, that on his arrival there he found the Duke of Nazara, captain general of the Spaniards, with 1,000 cavalry clad in steel, and that considerable bodies of troops arrived daily. Had been told by the Duke of Nazara that the Spaniards would muster some 30,000 horse and foot. The English were 20,000, and, it being understood that the King of Navarre on the borders there hesitated about keeping the promise given to Spain of neutrality between them and





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France, they had sent an express to learn whether he would abide by his word, and were awaiting his reply. Should he keep faith, they will march to Bayonne on the arrival of the Spanish troops; if, on the other hand, the King of Navarre swerve from his promise, they will then all attack and annihilate him in a few days, after which the invasion of France will continue.

The English fleet on its homeward voyage landed troops at two places in Brittany, burned many castles and villages thereabouts, captured many ships and vessels fallen in with, and carried them away, after sacking everything.

Then, on entering the Channel, they met 26 hoys, carrying much cannon, and bound for the bay (*alla baia*) in Brittany to load salt; these they took, and went all together to the Downs, where on board this fleet the King of England embarked very many troops, and armed the hoys and ships captured in Brittany; and one night they departed with 60 ships, besides the 40 hoys and ships captured in the ports of Brittany. Their destination was unknown, but they were supposed to be bound for some place in France, with which they have an understanding, and the result is awaited.

It has been heard for certain at the court that in France they are fitting out a large fleet, though he (Pasqualigo) is of opinion it will not dare put to sea, as besides the English fleet now afloat, the King is expecting 30 ships armed at his cost in Biscay, the arrival of which cannot be long delayed, it being already known some days since that they were on the eve of departure. The wish of England is that the French should come out, though this they will assuredly not do, as they have neither the means nor places for fitting out half as large a fleet as that of England, without counting that of Spain, which is very considerable.

It has been also heard there, that off Cape Finisterre a French ship captured a Portuguese, freighted with 60 bales . . . , under pretence of their being Spanish property; and in the Gulf of Lyons off Cartagena a corsair of Provence, with three ships and a galley, has taken three Spanish barks: so that the war is kindled in every quarter.

The King has sent 10,000*l.* to Maximilian at Brussels, to wage war on the Duke of Guelders. There is no other intelligence save that the father of the King of Navarre, Monsieur d'Albret, a Breton (*sic*),\* is at the French court, a prisoner as it were; and for that reason his son is supposed to be making this stir at his instigation.

The other 20,000 men now mustering for embarkation on board vessels in the Thames are to be ready for their passage to Calais in the course of August, under command of "the Talbot," of a family always accustomed to beat the French,† and he will go to Paris, four or five days march from his landing place.

[*Italian.*]

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\* Alain, Sire d'Albret, the father of John, King of Navarre, was a native of Gascony, in which province the town of Albret was situated.

† "El Thalabot di caxa uso a bater sempre Francesi."





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Aug. 19.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Segreto,  
v. xlv. p. 34,  
tergo.

184. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Had somewhat delayed writing to him, because, according to the intention already announced by them many days ago, they had despatched his successor, Francesco Capello, knight, who was well acquainted with all the news of Italy down to that time; and because they supposed that he would speedily have entered the King's presence and acquainted him with everything. Understand, however, by Capello's letters, the difficulties encountered by him on the road, owing to the dissensions and discord in Germany between the bishops there and the laity, and by reason of the war of Guelders; and some days ago received letters from Badoer dated the 15th ultimo, and lately those of the 26th.

Are satisfied with the preparations made by the King against his inveterate and natural enemies, and his perseverance in favour of the most holy League.

Perceive how satisfied the King is with the Signory's operations, for which he is to return thanks, and to beseech him to continue the undertaking, in which he will doubtless succeed, and recover all that territory of which he deservedly bears the title; and that he will not give ear to nor trust the stratagems and machinations of the French, who have no other aim than to deceive and delude.

They are intent on expelling what remains of the French. The army of the State besieging Brescia numbers upwards of 1,000 men-at-arms, 1,600 light horse, and 10,000 infantry. They hope in a few days to recover their territorial losses, and will then attend to the rest. The Cardinal of Sion, with the Switzers, is besieging the fortress of Novara, and will next proceed to Milan to recover that castle, which is still in the hands of the enemy. The army of the King of Spain is at Modena and thereabouts, numbering 400 men-at-arms, 800 light horse, and 7,000 infantry, and is expecting Prospero Colonna with as many more men-at-arms. The papal army is at Bologna and in that neighbourhood, numbering 500 men-at-arms and a good number of infantry, and receives reinforcements daily. The Signor Janus de Campofregoso, who, with the support of his faction and of some of the Signory's troops, entered Genoa, and was created duke of that city, has lately recovered from the French "*il Castelletto*," an important fortress for its defence, and is besieging another towards the sea, which also he hopes to obtain immediately.

The State is more than ever inclined towards a reconciliation with the Emperor; nor have they failed doing their utmost to effect for this purpose the mission to Rome of the Cardinal of Gurk, who was lately at Mantua, with the Viceroy and the Count of Carriati, the Spanish ambassador accredited to the Signory. They met to discuss the affairs of Italy, and the Viceroy departed without coming to any determination, awaiting (it was said) the decision of the Pope, who is in truth intent on regulating matters rightly for the welfare of the most holy confederation. Is to communicate all these things to the King, and to such of his councillors as fitting, and acquaint them also with the enclosed summaries of letters from the bailiff at Constantinople [Turkish newsletters], as they are certain they will





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prove agreeable to his Majesty. Is to continue giving copious and detailed advices, as he has done hitherto, to his great praise and commendation.

Ayes, 143. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 57 lines.]

Aug. 20.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 488.

# 185. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Dated London, 25th and 26th July.

Advices as already received concerning the King's preparations against France, and many particulars.

Paragraph seen by Sanuto, in a private letter from Badoer to his son-in-law, Francesco Gradenigo, dated London, 26th July. How he is not asleep there, and that his good service will be manifest; as now the Signory will have heard that the magnanimous King of England has fitted out a fleet of 70 large ships to depart with 20,000 troops for France, where, God willing, they will arrive in a few hours. The expedition is commanded by the Earl of Shrewsbury, of a noble and ancient family named Talbot, and to this day in France they still their babes by threatening them when they cry with the coming of the Talbots.\* Hopes by his next, to send still better news, being in hourly expectation of something good by sea from Galicia, and prays God to grant it.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 20.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 489.

# 186. LORENZO PASQUALIGO to his brothers ALVISE and FRANCESCO.

Dated London, 3rd August; read in the Senate on the 19th.

News received in a letter from Biscay, that as the King of Navarre had not kept his promise of neutrality, King Ferdinand mustered 100 spears and 10,000 infantry for an attack upon him; whereupon the King of Navarre surrendered five fortresses as security, so that in that quarter the allies would be free from molestation either from France or from the Navarrese. Confirmation of this intelligence by a courier who had arrived by sea and who was gone to the Emperor.

The King is arming as many ships as he can get; the smallest of 80 tons burden, and the largest "the Sovereign" (*sic*) of 2,600 (*sic*) butts. Believes that the fleet will number 60 sail, in addition to the first fleet, and without including the 30 ships fitted out on his account in Biscay, and expected hourly. The remaining 20,000 men are then to be embarked, and will, it is said, make an unexpected descent in Normandy or Brittany.

Gives account of the Emperor at Cologne, and how he had sent off Maximilian Sforza towards Milan.† Threats of the Emperor to annihilate the Duke of Guelders. Report that France is fitting out a large fleet, though it will certainly not show itself in those seas, where the English and Spanish ships will be double its force.

\* "Che con nome di Talboti si fa ozi in di tasentar i puti per la Franza, manasendoli quando i pianze ch'el vegnirà i Talboti."

† Concerning Maximilian Sforza, see also Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 387, date 24 July 1512.





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In the Gulf of Lyons there are two Provençal corsairs, one with three barks and a galley, the other with one bark, one galleon, and two galleys; and they have captured three or four barks bound to the westward, so that in London insurances on vessels from Candia cannot be effected even at ten per cent. Also in the sea of Spain there is a Frenchman with two barks, who has taken a Portuguese ship with 50 bales of pepper bound for Flanders. At Cadiz, 40 ships have been detained for the King of Spain, and it is supposed the like fate will befall all others arriving there, so all merchantmen will be unloaded, and above all the Malmseys from Candia; though, if not, assures his brothers they will find a good market. In England no talk of anything but arms.

The troops destined for Calais are already in order, nor is it known why they do not cross. Suspicion of some persons that the report of their being bound for Calais has been circulated, though it is intended to land them elsewhere.

The King has sent 10,000*l.* to the Emperor, who is raising troops against Guelders. Has no other news. The present messenger is despatched by the King to Rome in great haste, and with difficulty takes charge of the Venetian letters.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 26.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 518.

187. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to HENRY VIII.

Acknowledges receipt of the King's letters dated 12th July, which gave him extreme pleasure, though they contained nothing new, the State being already convinced of his piety towards the Pope and Roman Church and innate affection for the Republic, which had caused him to march his formidable forces against the common enemy; the move being made so efficaciously, that according to the unanimous opinion not alone of the Signory, but of all Italy, it is confessedly to his Majesty that she is indebted for being in great measure freed from French oppression. Declares that signal record of the fact will go down to posterity in her annals. Compliments the King on his precept, practised and professed, of not rashly waging war, and of not desisting from it speedily or easily. In accordance with the King's exhortations the Republic is determined to pursue the flying foe, and sound no retreat; are increasing their army to rout those stubborn remnants of the French yet in possession of the castles of Milan, Brescia, and some other places, although the French army has lately been compelled ignominiously to decamp. The State, therefore, frankly pledges itself to the King, promising never to desire any change, but perseveringly to abide by the holy alliance and its stipulations throughout, that the goodwill and respect entertained by them for his Majesty may be manifest to the world, and perpetual in their own breasts.

Will not omit allusion to the praise bestowed on the ambassador Andrea Badoer, on which account he will enjoy greater favour with the State than ever, having perfectly fulfilled the object of his mission by honouring himself with his Majesty's praises. 26th Aug. 1512.

[*Latin*, 48 lines.]

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In the Gulf of Lyons there are two thousand vessels, one with three masts and a galley, the other with one mast, one galley, and two masts; and they have captured three of King's boats. The western side of the London insurance on vessels from Lyons cannot be effected even at ten per cent. Also in the sea of Spain there is a Frenchman with two boats, who has taken a Portuguese ship with 500000 of paper bound for France. At Lyons 40 ships have been detained for the King of Spain, and it is supposed the like fate will befall all others arriving there, so all merchants will be unloading, and above all the Malaga wine. London, though it not, names his brother they will find a good market. In England no talk of anything but war.

The troops destined for Calais are already in order, not so it known why they do not cross. Suspicion of some persons that the report of their being bound for Calais has been circulated, though it is intended to land there elsewhere.

The King has sent 10,000 to the Emperor, who is raising troops against Gaudet. Has no other news. The present messenger is despatched by the King to Rome in great haste, and with difficulty takes charge of the Venetian letter.

[Linné.]

187. Book Leonardo Leonardo to Henry VIII.

Aug. 25.

Santo Domingo  
V. 11. p. 216

Acknowledges receipt of the King's letter dated 12th July, which gave him extreme pleasure, though they contained nothing new, the State being already convinced of his piety towards the Pope and Roman Church and innate affection for the Republic, which had caused him to search his formidable forces against the common enemy; the move being made so efficaciously that according to the unanimous opinion and sense of the Senate, but of all this it is confessed to his Majesty that she is indebted for much to most necessary, freed from French oppression. Besides that, the record of the fact will go down to posterity in her name. The King on his present position and position of not really warring, and of not desisting from it, especially in Italy. In accordance with the King's extension the Republic is determined to pursue the King's war, and would not retreat, even if crossing their army to rout those stubborn remnants of the French yet in possession of the castles of Milan, France, and some other places, although the French army has lately been compelled to mainly to demand. The State therefore, finally pledges itself to the King, promising never to demand any change, but persistently to abide by the holy alliance and its stipulations throughout, that the goodwill and respect entertained by them for his Majesty may be manifest to the world, and perpetual in their own breasts.

Will not seek alliance to the prior hatred on the ambassador. Another factor on which account he will enjoy greater favour with the State than ever, having formerly fulfilled the object of his mission by honoring himself with the Majesty's praise. 25th Aug.

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[Linné, 45 lines.]



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Aug. 27.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. 518.

188. FRANCESCO CAPELLO, Ambassador on his way to England, to the STATE, dated Ulm, the 20th.

Comment by Sanuto how on that day he had seen his secretary Antonio Mazaruol.

[*Italian.*]

189. FRANCESCO CAPELLO, Knight, Ambassador on his way to England to the DOGE and SENATE.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 520.

Dated Ulm, 20th August; read in the College on Sunday, the 29th.

A courier and a herald, with process in German, had arrived there from the Emperor, who was at Constance. The herald came into the ambassador's presence, and preferred against him certain charges written in German and made by the Emperor. The Emperor thereupon commanded him (Capello) not to proceed on his journey, but to go either to Lanzaol (*sic*) in Bavaria, or to Munich. These charges were 14, the principal being four in number:—First, that the Signory, owing to the truce, had sent gentlemen and others to poison the Emperor. Secondly, that they had sent gangs of men to burn the towns in Germany, and that in consequence certain prosecutions had been instituted, and a priest hung. Thirdly, that they had sent to spike the Emperor's artillery. Fourthly, that the said ambassador had gone through the free towns, namely, Menin (*sic*), Chelt (*sic*), and Ulm, and had endeavoured to detach them from the Emperor, and to render them friendly to the Signory. Also, that by means of the truce the Pope, the Signory, and the Switzers had partitioned the duchy of Milan, which ought to be all restored and united to the Empire, and that as he (Capello) wanted to go to England, he was to consign the written commission received from the Signory to the Emperor, who would transmit it by his own messenger.

Note by Sanuto that complaints were made about this by the Signory to the Spanish ambassador in Venice, and to the agent of the Cardinal of Gurk, they having given Capello a safeconduct for his passage to England, whereas he was stopped.

Remonstrances also against the proceedings of Frangipani in Istria. Expressions of regret on the part of the ambassadors,\* who said they would write; so letters were sent to Germany to the Cardinal of Gurk, the Signory writing to the ambassador Lando at Trent; and a courier was sent to Rome this same evening, and to the King in England, complaining of these things.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 30.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. p. 523.

190. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.

Dated 21st, 22nd, and 24th August.

Announces receipt by the Pope of a letter from the King of England, dated 8th August, mentioning what he had done for the benefit of Holy Church against France; he was fitting out 100 ships, and would arm a still greater number. That his fleet had captured four French vessels and sunk two. Requests the Pope to send a fleet into Provence, and to act vigorously against

\* *Sc.*, the above-mentioned Spanish ambassador in Venice, and the agent of the Cardinal of Gurk.





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France, as he will not fail to do the like in his own neighbourhood. Was also aware that the French had quitted Italy, and would be in so much the greater force against him, though he holds them in no account.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 31.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xiv. pp. 530-  
537.

191. ANDREA BADOER to his BROTHER.

Dated London, 24th July 1512.

Decision of the Signory to send an embassy to England requesting her aid against France, at the commencement of 1509. His appointment by the Council of Ten and Junta, with a monthly salary of 100 ducats. Congratulates himself on being a good linguist, as it facilitated his journey, of which he gives the details. Account of his arrival in London, and of loss sustained there through thievish servants. Death of Henry VII. Return made by English noblemen for Venetian hospitality. Reception by Henry VIII., and his good offices in favour of Venice.

Amount of fees paid by Badoer to English physicians. Tears shed by the King for his (Badoer's) ill health and haggard appearance. Motion made for his recal, and reduction of his salary to 70 ducats a month. His remonstrances and complaints. Delivery of Italy from the barbarians by means of England. His (Badoer's) dread of death from grief, or of imprisonment. Asks his brother for a loan of 600 ducats, on account of arrears due to him, and which he estimates at 1,500 ducats.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 2.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 4.

192. FRANCESCO FOSCARI, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the STATE, dated 28th August.

The Cardinal of England had told the Pope that his King pays half the cost of the Spanish troops, so that the King of Spain defrays his charges at the expense of others.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 10.

193. ZUAM GIACOMO CAROLDO, Venetian Secretary at Milan, to the STATE, dated 1st September.

The Spaniards and English had retired from Bayonne, and in the French camp opposed to them there were 3,000 spears. It was true the Spaniards had obtained Pampeluna in Navarre, were at a certain pass, and it was expected would give battle. Some French and English ships had engaged, and went down in action.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 28.

194. STATEMENT made by the SPANISH AMBASSADOR in the College.

Had received letters of a very recent date from Don Piero Durea, at Inspruck, announcing intelligence from Spain.

That the army of King Ferdinand had obtained Pampeluna and the whole of the kingdom of Navarre, which last surrendered, the clergy coming forth with the crucifixes to welcome the conqueror. The Duke of Alva was encamped under Bayonne on one side, and





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the English on the other, and it was supposed that by this time the Spaniards had got possession of the city.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 14.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 44.

195. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

Have received letters from the ambassador Capello, dated Venzon, a place in the Friuli. The Emperor had at length dismissed him from the imperial territories, and intimated that he did not wish him to go to the King of England to exasperate the latter against France, with whom the Empire is not at war, unless the Signory be first of all at peace with him (the Emperor); with much other unbecoming language, which they think fit to pass over in silence. According to the ambassador's letters, Germany and the princes wish for peace.

[*Italian, 70 lines.*]

Oct. 6.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 56.

196. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to KING HENRY VIII.

Letter proposed in the Venetian Senate.

Rejoiced exceedingly on learning that his army and fleet had engaged the French, the common enemies, and worsted them, and send these present to congratulate him on these successes, which will recover for him his hereditary right, revive Italian liberty, and annihilate the forces of the enemy. Request him, therefore, to proceed earnestly and magnanimously. The State with its army will continue to act vigorously, so as to expel the remains of the French from Italy, and they trust that the Pope and the King of Spain will do the like.

Ayes, 29. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

Amendment, that, *pro nunc*, the present matter be delayed.  
Ayes, 141.

[*Latin, 15 lines.*]

Oct. 6.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 56.

197. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to the EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.

Touching the detention of Francesco Capello, their ambassador to England, in the Emperor's dominions.

[*Latin, 41 lines.*]

Oct. 11.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 54,  
tergo.

198. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

On the morning of the 4th, the Count of Carriati read to the Doge letters from the King of Spain, dated Logroño, the 1st of September, announcing that the English army had determined to return home and not to effect a junction with his forces; first, because the English would attack Bayonne, and no other place, whereas the King of Spain represented such attack impracticable, save at the cost of very much time, as the place was strongly garrisoned and fortified. The King of Spain's tactics were to occupy the neighbouring territory, called the county of Bearn, which occupied, Bayonne would fall of itself. Secondly, because





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the English said suspicion and discord had arisen between the members of the Signory's league. The King of Spain, therefore, suspected that the English would renounce the expedition, and had desired the Count of Carriati to exert himself with the Signory for the cessation of such suspicions and disagreements, and that they and the Pope should pay his army, so that the three armies might together march to attack the places in Italy which acknowledge the French; and that at any rate, the Signory should make peace with the Emperor.

Announce their intention of writing to the King of England to encourage him to continue the undertaking, and also to request the Pope to write to him and transmit spiritual weapons and censures to aid the war in the duchy of Guienne.

Ayes, 167. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 69 lines.]

Oct. 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 202.

199. ANTONIO BAVARIN\* to FRANCESCO DA PESARO of London.

Dated London, 5th September.

How 50 sail of the King's ships, which had previously put to sea from Hampton, made for the coast of Brittany. In Brest there were 28 large ships armed to come out; so on the 9th August the English fleet went thither and found the French three miles off the harbour, into which, on perceiving the English, and having cut their cables, they returned, though two ships, the biggest, remained out, one of them being the great carack of Brest of 1,500 (*sic*) tons, in trim. The wind was high, with a heavy sea, but Master Thomas Knevet, captain of "the Regent," (although less by 100 tons than the Frenchman,) together with another little English vessel, engaged the big Frenchman; "the Regent" poured in shot and prepared to board throwing out her grappling iron. The ships being thus chained together, there was a very long fight, the action lasting 24 hours (*sic*); many killed on both sides. At length the French, perceiving the English to be victorious, set fire to the ships to avoid capture, and the two were destroyed. Praises greatly the captain, Knevet. Of the 800 English on board "the Regent," 170 were saved; and of the 1,500 Frenchmen, 20 were saved and made prisoners.

Another French vessel of 1,000 tons was unable to get into harbour, and after being much battered, stood out to sea, and was chased by an English ship well appointed.

The English fleet put into Dartmouth, some vessels returning to Hampton; when repaired, they were again to go out.

Sends a note of those on board the carack. The English fleet had burnt many places in Brittany and some 24 French ships, and on that day (the 5th) had captured a French ship, on board of which was the captain Drepa (*sic*), and had also sunk two other men-of-war.

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\* Antonio Bavarin was the agent or factor of the "Pesari of London." In Mr. Brewer's Calendar, p. 432, date 1 November 1512, there is note of a payment made to him for bow-staves, probably those already mentioned by Sanuto, date 4 September 1510.





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List of men, ordnance, &c., on board the great carack of Brest, belonging to the King of France, of from 1,400 to 1,500 (*sic*) tons burden, though but a "bark:"—

Mons. de Clermont, high admiral of France.

Mons. Primauguet (Primoia), captain of the ship.

Mons. Enores de Clarica.

Mons. Simon de Loy.

Mons. Vangel.

300 knights and gentlemen.

50 gunners; 400 arbalast men; 400 pipes (*sic*) of biscuit; 100 pipes (*sic*) of salt meat; 16 very large bronze bombards on carriages, besides other bombards, muskets, and harquebuses innumerable; 160 barrels of bombard powder; 2 boats (*bati*) of 40 butts each, full of 6 bronze . . . . .

Intelligence derived from the pilot and others taken alive.

Moreover, gold chains belonging to the knights and ready money to a very great amount.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 14.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 219.

200. NEWS of ENGLAND, transmitted by PIERO LANDO, Venetian

Envoy, accredited to the Cardinal of Gurk, dated 12th Oct.

Departure from Portsmouth on the 9th of August of the Admiral of England with 50 ships and 10,000 men, exclusive of mariners; course steered by him along the English coast as far as the entry of the sea of Spain in quest of the enemy. The coast being clear, left 10 ships in certain harbours, and with the remainder, in the name of "God and of St. George," made for Brittany to give battle. Late on St. Lawrence's eve [9 August] came in sight of the Brittany coast, with a few sail; continued his course during the whole night, and on the following day, towards 11 a.m., off Brest, the look-out man of the Admiral's galley discovered some two leagues off in the mouth of the gulf of Brest a number of ships, which proved to be the French fleet. Chase given with extreme joy by the Admiral in his ship of 500 tons and another of 400, commanded by a valiant knight, called Sir Anthony Ughtred (Antonio Utrecht), they leaving the other ships a quarter of a league astern, lest the French, who were in force at anchor and so near shore, should sheer off, as they, however, did. The English Admiral cannonaded the French, Admiral, compelled him to cut his cables, and put to sea, and with a single shot from a heavy bombard disabled his mast, and killed 300 men, the ship saving itself amongst the rocks. Attack in the meanwhile by the ship of 400 tons on the carack of Brest, called "the Queen," of 400 tons burden, and carrying 400 men. The former did not grapple, but in a moment riddled the latter so between wind and water by shots from six large "*cortos*," that the French could not keep her afloat. The rest of the English fleet coming up, "the Regent" boarded the carack with 400 men, and she surrendered, but the powder magazine (containing 300 barrels for the use of the French fleet) blew up instantly, the explosion being so furious, that "the Regent," of 800 tons, caught fire, and both ships were burnt together, though 180 of "the Regent's" men, throwing themselves into the sea, were saved by the ships' boats of





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the English fleet; of the French only six escaped, and they were made prisoners. The ship of Sir Anthony Ughtred (Antonio Utrect) with 30 men sheered off (*se tirò*), and during two days the whole of the English fleet remained in this bay of Brest to raise the anchors of the 53 French ships [which had cut their cables]. On the third day the English landed, burned 27 of the said French ships, captured 5, made prisoners to the amount of 800 persons, and set on fire to many places on land.

Return of the fleet to England, on account of the stormy weather.

Englishmen who perished in "the Regent:"—

Sir Thomas Knevet, knight, master of the horse of England, and captain.

Sir John Carew, knight.

Soldiers and sailors, 600.

Frenchmen who perished:—

Mons. de Primauguet (Promagier), captain.

Mons. Gabriel de Chacho.

Mons. Simon de la Haie.

Mons. Camaugel.

The Seneschal of Morlaix.

300 knights and gentlemen, who on St. Lawrence's Day went on board the carack to make merry with their kinsfolk, some taking their wives with them.

Soldiers and sailors, 800.

Gunners, 50.

Arbalast men, 400.

Arrival in England of Don Juan de Lescorno, captain of the Catholic King. Reached Hampton on the 8th September, with 15 large ships and 8 caravels and pinnaces, and together with the English fleet of 50 ships, and upwards of 4,000 men more than last time, they were to put to sea with the first fair weather, for an attack on the enemy in such quarters as shall be deemed capable of receiving the greatest injury.

No news in England of the siege of Bayonne for the last six weeks down to the 14th September.

The King had given an order for the construction of four ships of 800 (*sic*) tons each, the builders being bound to have them completed by Easter next, 1513. He had also bought of certain staplers 12,000 suits of armour, namely, breast plates, sallets, and gauntlets (*brazzaletti*).

As yet the Scots were not otherwise than on good terms with the King.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 31.  
Senato Mar,  
v. xvii. p. 176.

201. DECREE of the SENATE concerning the TRADE with ENGLAND.

Motion made for prolongation, from the close of October 1512 to the close of February 1513, of the term assigned to Venetian and foreign merchants for importing wools, cloths, and tin from England,





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Flanders, and Brabant, as owing to many impediments caused by the war, they have hitherto been unable to import any quantity of such merchandize.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 10. Neutrals, 0.

Nov. 2.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 298.

202. FRANCESCO FOSCARI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the STATE, dated 26th October.

The King of Scotland had made war on the King of England.  
[*Extract, Italian.*]

Nov. 2.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 298.

203. QUEEN KATHARINE OF ARRAGON to CARDINAL BAINBRIDGE, English Ambassador in Rome.

[*Headed:*] "Familiar letter about the affairs of Scotland."

Although the King of Scots promised the Catholic King (Ferdinand) to be a most faithful friend and brother to King Henry, and swore accordingly to the English ambassador, Mr. Doctor Vestri,\* who had been with him quite recently; yet notwithstanding, on perceiving that King Henry was waging war on the French, and had determined to send 20,000 men through Normandy under the Earl of Shrewsbury, he (the King of Scots) invaded Berwick, and proclaimed war against England; for which reason three earls and two barons are already on their march towards Scotland, namely the Earl of Surrey, commander-in-chief, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Derby, the Lord Darcy, the Lord Dacres, and many other captains, with 30,000 men; not only for the defence of Berwick, but also to conquer and annihilate the kingdom of Scotland, according to the fashion in which the Catholic King treated the King of Navarre.

Her consort is so bent on the war against the French, the foes of the Church, that he is determined never to rest or desist until their King be utterly destroyed; having said openly to all hearers a few days previously that he firmly believed that neither the Pope nor his very dear father (King Ferdinand) would ever desert him, though if by any chance they should happen thus to do, yet he would never withdraw from this war until that schismatical sovereign be made an end of. London, 18th September, 1512.

[*Copy. Latin.*]

Nov. 10.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. pp. 317,  
318.

204. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Dated London, 16th October, and received by way of Germany. Nothing of importance. Badoer had merely heard that the ambassador Capello was coming, and that the Emperor had denied him transit; wherefore Badoer had sold his gowns and household furniture, expecting to return home; but on hearing of Capello's detention was compelled to remain. Complains extremely.

\* So in Sanuto's transcript. According to Rymer, xiii. 309, it is seen that on the 3rd November 1511, Nicholas West, LL.D., was appointed ambassador to Scotland. See also Ellis's Letters, vol. i. series 1, pp. 64-65.





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**205. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

Dated 1st October, but not deciphered previously.

Had delivered the Signory's letter for the King, who was much pleased with it. Had conversed with the Bishops of "Glusestre" (*sic*) and "Durant" (*sic*), chief lords of the Parliament, one of whom went ambassador to the King of Scotland, who told him the Emperor meant to place Maximilian Sforza in the duchy of Milan, and to restore to him Brescia, Crema, and Bergamo; and the King regretted that the Signory should incur loss. The King (of England) intends to order the fleet and army home, being dissatisfied with the Spaniards, who were intent on conquering Navarre, and not on taking Bayonne.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 17.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 80.

**206. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.**

Acknowledge the receipt of letters of the 12th, stating the goodwill and regard for the Signory's interests, demonstrated by the Cardinal of York in the late negotiations for peace treated at Rome by the Pope and the Cardinal of Gurk.

The Cardinal of York has evinced wisdom, goodness, and integrity. To thank him in the most loving language possible.

Ayes, 141. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 18 lines.*]

Nov. 26.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 80,  
tergo.

**207. The SAME to the SAME.**

To thank the Cardinals of Strigonia and of York, the latter of whom in particular does good service. To request the Cardinal of York to persevere, and not to fail writing to his King about the great injury inflicted on the State.

Ayes, 147. Noes, 23. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian, 50 lines.*]

Nov. 26.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 81.

**208. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.**

Events have taken place detrimental to the State, and contrary to the articles of the League. The Spanish army, having accomplished the undertaking against Florence,\* crossed the Po without difficulty and marched to the borders of the Brescian territory, for the purpose of disturbing the Venetian camp, which had been for a long while besieging the city of Brescia, and was on the point of taking it, having battered the place during many days in two directions, and the French garrison being without provisions or provender. Although it was intimated to the Spanish commander-in-chief, the Viceroy, that there was no occasion for him to act, yet he advanced, negotiated with the French, and agreed with them to take possession of the city in the name of the League. He promised the garrison safe-conduct beyond the Alps for themselves, their arms, horses, and all their effects.

\* Giulian de' Medici reestablished in Florence by Cardona, September 2, 1512. (See Romanin, vol. v. p. 276.)





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Remonstrances of the Signory against such an arrangement; inexpediency of sending so considerable an amount of men-at-arms and infantry, all veterans, with their equipments into France. Dishonour, cruelty, and wickedness of allowing them to take to France what they have plundered and robbed in Italy, especially at the sack of Ravenna, and twice in the luckless city of Brescia.

Assert that, according to the articles of the League, and the declaration of the Pope in his original brief, and also in the new one, (copies of both of which they transmit,) Brescia was to be surrendered to them. Therefore they made a demand accordingly of the Viceroy, who refused to concede it, saying that he must await the conclusion of the peace between the Signory and the Emperor, which was then in course of negotiation at Rome by the Cardinal of Gurk; and that he had come to take Brescia in the name of the League, to compel the Signory to peace, and on their own terms. Of the truth of this statement the State had practical proof, for on the arrival at Rome on the 3rd instant of the Cardinal of Gurk, they\* proposed an agreement to the Signory's ambassadors, based on terms not only iniquitous and harsh, but impossible for the State to accept; protesting that, if it were rejected, Spain would league with the Emperor against Venice; and according to the last advices from Rome in date of the 20th, they† had already drawn up the articles of this new League between the Pope and the Emperor; the Spanish ambassadors not being parties to it.

Although the Pope endeavoured to persuade the English ambassador, the Cardinal of York, to sign this League, the latter not only refused his assent, but strongly dissuaded the measure, as contrary to all right, divine and human, and to the intention of his King. For this are very grateful to the Cardinal, as both in the present instance, and more than once, he has acted as becomingly and prudently as possible. For this he (Badoer) is to return thanks to the King, acquainting him with every thing, and assuring him that the State will always persevere most closely in her alliance with England, and never fail, when possible, to gratify the King, whom he is to inform that the peace now proposed to them would be a great and perpetual war. The allies insisted, moreover, that with the exception of Padua and Treviso, all the rest of the Signory's territory, from the Mincio to Venice, was to be placed in the hands of the Pope and of the King of Spain, as a pledge, at their disposal, with many other exorbitant and unfair clauses, exacting besides a very considerable sum of gold for the investiture, and then an excessive annual tribute. They also insisted that Verona and Vicenza be ceded entirely to the Emperor, in which case the State could neither hold Brescia nor Crema, nor the other towns of Lombardy, from inability to obtain transit, and would thus lose territory and treasury at the same time.

Had offered the Emperor, beside the money and tribute aforesaid, liberal and honourable terms to make a durable peace. This was rejected, and a confederation was formed against them. Such treat-

\* Qu., the Pope, the Cardinal of Gurk, and the Spanish ambassadors?

† Qu., the Pope and the Cardinal of Gurk?





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ment was not suited to their deserts, because without the gold and army of the Signory, the expulsion of the French from Italy would not have been effected. The case is too hard that their allies should compel them to make peace on worse conditions than when there was no alliance, and the French all powerful in Italy;—conditions indeed, which, when the hostile armies were under Padua and Treviso, the State, nevertheless, scorned and rejected. They wish only for peace and quiet.

He (Badoer) to request the King to support the Signory, both at Rome and in Spain, vigorously, and to condemn the nonobservance towards them of the articles of the League, and the wrong done them. He (Badoer) is also to praise the Cardinal of York for having used his good offices, and to charge him to urge his King to continue holding them as dear and especial friends, and to do what shall seem expedient to his wisdom with the other Christian powers, for the quiet of Italy, and of the Christian religion.

Enclose newsletters from Ragusa for communication to the King, whom he is to inform that danger will be very great indeed, should the present Sultan,\* who is young, most hostile to the Christian name, and desirous of war, see Christendom so harassed by dissensions and troubles.

[*Italian*, 86 lines.]

Dec. 9.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
vol. xlv. p. 83,  
tergo.

**209. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.**

Although the Pope apologizes for his proceedings on the plea of compulsion, do not doubt but that he is well aware how inconsistent his conduct was with rectitude and fairness. The ambassador is to keep the Pope well disposed, and to do the like also with the Cardinals of York, Strigonia, and San Giorgio, and all such others as he shall think fit.

[*Italian*, 16 lines.]

**A.D. 1513.**

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Jan. 8.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
vol. xlv. p. 88.

**210. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.**

To confer with the Cardinals San Giorgio and York, and request them to favour the Signory's affairs.

Ayes, 175. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 52 lines.]

Jan. 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. pp. 455,  
456.

**211. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

Dated London, 9 November.

Return of the English fleet and troops, and of the Lord

\* Selim I. He had deposed his father on the 5th May, 1512, and was then 46 years old. See "L'Art de Vérifier les Dates."





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Treasurer, who went ambassador to Scotland for the arrangement of matters there, which seemed to be well-nigh adjusted.

The King was preparing a fleet with the intention of attacking the French in the spring in several quarters, and of sending an army across the Channel. Queen Katharine of Arragon, very warm in favour of this expedition, would fain have four large galleasses and two "bastard galleys" from the Signory, and enquired of him the monthly cost of a galley afloat completely found. Answered her that it would amount to 10,000 (*sic*; 1,000?) ducats a month. She would wish the Signory to send them some bastard galleys, because she understood France was building two vessels of that description. The King and the ministers were not well satisfied with the Spaniards, and wanted to know why the army returned; the reason assigned was the scarcity of provisions.

Transmits a letter from the King in reply to the one from the Signory.

Complaints (of Badoer) at not receiving money for his maintenance.

Note by Sanuto that the letter from the King, dated London, 19 October, was very sage, purporting that he meant to persevere in the war against France, and wished the Signory to send her fleet into Provence seas in the spring.

Letters from LORENZO PASQUALIO, of the London factory, dated 9 November 1512, as above.

How the King was fitting out a fleet against France, and that the English fleet on its homeward voyage captured two French ships.

Also, that two Ragusan firms established in London had failed for 20,000 ducats, owing to the loss of the kerseys, taken by Norchi (*sic*).

The King bent on war,—the Council averse to it,—the Queen wills it.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11.

212. HENRY VIII. to POPE JULIUS II.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 470.

Expresses especial love for the Emperor Maximilian. Is also anxious for the well-being of the Venetians, they having shown themselves partial to his ancestors and to himself, and having often benefited the Christian commonwealth against the Infidels. Therefore regrets the continuance of dispute between the Emperor and the Signory, and the more so, as it benefits neither party, and is injurious to the common cause.

No fitter peacemaker between the parties could be found than the Pope, and, although aware how intent he is on this reconciliation, adds his own (the King's) especial entreaties, as he had heard of the fresh proposals about to be made to his Holiness by his very dear friend the Bishop of Gurk, the Emperor's confidential minister.

Requests audience for the Cardinal of York.

[*Copy. Latin, 37 lines. No date; entered in the Diaries on January 11, 1513.*]





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Jan. 11.  
Senato Mar,  
v. xvii. p. 179.

**213. DECREE of the SENATE concerning the TRADE with ENGLAND.**

Motion made for the election by the Senate, at its next meeting, of two Venetian noblemen, conversant with the Flanders voyage and its incidents, as proveditors for the London Factory.

Ayes, 147. Noes, 16. Neutrals, 1.

Jan. 15.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 482.

**214. A MESSENGER** from CARDINAL ADRIAN of CORNETO, resident in Germany, near Sterzingen, appeared in the College, and stated that the Cardinal had intended to go to England, but had deferred his journey. He was a great enemy to the Pope, but did not take part with the schismatic Cardinals. The messenger presented to the Doge a letter from Cardinal Adrian, together with a cup of pure gold, well wrought, worth about — ducats, sent by him as a gift to the Signory, saying the King of England had transmitted to him a present of two cups, one of which he gave to the Emperor, the other to the Signory, to whom he recommended himself. Thanks returned by the Doge, who accepted the present.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 524.

**215. LORENZO PASQUALIGO to his BROTHERS.**

Dated London, 19 December, 1512, to 16 January, 1513.

Great preparations making against France for the coming spring. Embargo laid by the King on all vessels in the island. His intention to invade France in person; contribution levied by him of a million of gold, equal to 600,000*l.* sterling.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 525.

**216. The SAME to the SAME.**

Dated London, 18 and 19 December, 1512.

Understands he is not to charter any Spanish bark, by reason of what is passing in England. He has been in negotiation for one, but considers their decision wise, because the King would probably have seized such bark for the fleet, as he is making great preparations for February and March next to come. The King's force would amount to 70 ships, besides 12 pinnaces which he was building, low and long, each to be rowed by 40 oars, with "*una corvetta*" carrying much cannon. He had also purchased two Biscayan barks of 1,600 (*sic*) butts each, and his fleet had seized at Flushing a bark of 1,500 (*sic*) butts burden belonging to the "*Maonesi*" of Scio, which had been sent into the Thames. This was done, because the King understood that these "*Maonesi*," two of whom were in London, had sold the bark to the King of France; and on their refusing to sell it to the King of England when he asked it of them, he took it; whereupon the "*Maonesi*," endeavouring to escape by sea, were captured at Dover, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, where they will have to settle with their host.

The Parliament was dissolved on the 19th [December], having promised the King 600,000*l.* before he crossed the Channel; but as he offered to go in person to France, the Parliament proposed to give him more money, if needed, until the conclusion of the war, and that he should have as many troops as he chose.

Assures his brothers that the English go at a good pace (*de bone gambe*).





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**217. LORENZO PASQUALIGO to his BROTHERS.**

Dated 20th January, 1513.

Informes them that the King was building a new ship or carack of 4,000 butts, with three decks. Its name was "the Regent," the same as the ship which was burnt in the combat with the Frenchman. This ship was to carry 2,000 men, and 200 pieces of ordnance, so that it would be the largest and most powerful ship that ever put to sea. Describes the anchor at which the vessel would ride in ordinary. It was the one at the Car-gate at Hampton, and would serve as "*seconda sorta*." Leaves his brothers to imagine the size of those in reserve.\*

All the ships of England, from 300 butts upwards, were in the King's pay; part, in number 12, formed the fleet for the safe custody of the Channel; and the remainder were being repaired and fitted. The Venetians cannot therefore expect to get English ships.

The affairs of Scotland and of Denmark were arranged, though the French were spending a well of gold with both those Kings to embroil the business, so that the English might not be troublesome to France. The French were said to be distributing much money, as there was never any lack of those who would drink their wine as usual.

[Italian.]

Feb. 7.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 529.**218. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

Dated London,—December, 1512.

Had shown a letter from Venice, narrating the honours paid by the Soldan at Cairo to the magnifico Domenico Trevisan, to the King.

But for the news of the League made at Rome, he had hoped to have made a good bargain for the Signory with the King, who would have given a thousand ducats a month each for four light galleys and two bastard galleys. The King is making great preparations against France for the spring. Details his own pecuniary embarrassments.

[Italian.]

Feb.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 572-5.**219. NICOLO DI FAVRI, of Treviso (attached to the Venetian Embassy in London), to FRANCESCO GRADENIGO, son-in-law of Andrea Badoer.**

Dated London, 23rd January, 1513. Received at Venice in February.

In England the houses are all of wood, and both rooms and corridors are of the same material. Over the floors they strew weeds called "rushes," which resemble reeds, and which grow on the water. Every eight or ten days they put down a fresh layer; the cost of each layer being half a Venetian livre, more or less, according to the size of the house.

In England the women go to market for household provisions; if

\* "*L'ancora che xe a la porta del caro de Antom, serà per la seconda sorta, che la porterà; vardate che sarà quelle de rispetto.*" From a passage in Sanuto's Itinerary, p. 22. and viii., it may be inferred that the "car" at Southampton was a ferrybridge. Fynes Moryson in the year 1594 described the "car" at Fusina as an "*instrument* whereby the passage boat was drawn out of the Brenta into the marshes of Venice." See also Montaigne's Travels, date 1580.





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gentlewomen, they are preceded by two men servants. Their usual vesture is a cloth petticoat over the shift, lined with grey squirrel's or some other fur; over the petticoat they wear a long gown lined with some choice fur. The gentlewomen carry the train of their gown under the arm; the commonalty pin it behind or before, or at one side. The sleeves of the gowns sit as close as possible; are long, and unslashed throughout, the cuffs being lined with some choice fur. Their head gear is of various sorts of velvet, cap fashion, with lappets (*coste*) hanging down behind over their shoulders like two hoods; and in front they have two others, lined with some other silk. Their hair is not seen, so is unable to say whether it be light or dark. Others wear on their heads muslins, which are distended, and hang at their backs, but not far down. Some draw their hair from under a kerchief, and wear over the hair a cap, for the most part white, round, and seemly; others again wear a kerchief in folds on the head: but be the fashion as it may, the hair is never seen. Their stockings are black and their shoes doubly soled, of various colours, but no one wears "choppines," as they are not in use in England. When they meet friends in the street, they shake hands, and kiss on the mouth, and go to some tavern to regale, their relatives not taking this amiss, as such is the custom. The women are very beautiful and good tempered.

The men are well made, tall, and stout; well clad, wearing gowns called doublets (*zuboni*) plaited on the shoulders, reaching half way down the leg, and lined with several sorts of very fine furs. On their heads they wear caps with one or two ornaments (*una foza over con do*); with short hair like the priests in Venice, the hair over the forehead being cut away.

In England no one makes bread at home; but every morning all take it at the baker's, and keep tallies there (*tessera*); at present bread is dear on account of the war. The price of meat has more than doubled, as a "milizia"\* (*sic*) has been salted for the army, and very great preparation is making to stand the brunt; and by day and night and on all the festivals the cannon founders are at work.

The Venetian ambassador is at great expense, as he daily receives visits from one nobleman or another, most especially now that the Parliament is sitting.

The floors of the English houses are for the most part planked. Aloft, at the window-sills (which are all of wood), they put rosemary (*osmarin*), sage, and other herbs. In England it is always windy, and however warm the weather, the natives invariably wear furs. At present it has not yet been cold there, nor is it rainy or muddy. The summers are never very hot, neither is it ever very cold.

In a previous letter, dated 10th December, wrote that the King of England's camps had commenced disarming. One of these camps had been formed in Spain, whose King, the King of England's father-in-law, had promised to cooperate with the English, but failed in his engagements. When the English went to eat grapes in a vineyard, the Spaniards discharged their arbalasts at them.

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\* In date 25th May 1512, it has been recorded that 25,000 oxen were salted for the army, so "milizia" is probably a mistake for "*migliaja*," and was meant to signify that "thousands (of oxen) had been salted for the army."





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The King of England has an army of picked men in Scotland, under a valiant commander, called my Lord Treasurer, one of the King's chief ministers, a man 70 years old and upwards, to whom on the Scottish border the King of Scotland sent "*carta bianca*," and they made terms together. It is said in England that the perfidious King of France caused the King of Scots to attack King Henry, but that the English had made provision betimes.

A third force, consisting of a number of ships, under a valiant Admiral, the men being all picked, is at sea. They sighted a Frenchman, on board of which were 200 French gentlemen; whereupon a brave captain of an English ship went into action against it, with his own vessel alone. The engagement lasted until both ships caught fire, and were burnt, all the hands being drowned; but France was by far the greater loser, for 200 gentlemen were on board the Frenchman, whereas England did but lose the captain; on which account the English are more than ever determined not to hear the Frenchmen named.

On All Saints' Day the Parliament met. All the lords of the kingdom came; the Parliament being held in the King's palace at a place less than two miles from London, called Westminster, where all the nobility who come for the session have houses. They attend the Parliament every morning, and having thus to pass the door of the Venetian ambassador's house on the Thames, whether they go by land or water (there being a hundred boats built in the fashion of the country, which ply between London and Westminster), they visit him. This custom is by reason of the love they bear him. They come each with 16 servants, more or less; some to dinner, others to breakfast; and thus according to the custom of the country is breakfast served every morning. The ambassador is always very glad to see them, and everybody likes him, from the highest to the lowest; indeed were he a peer of the realm, the King and the nobility could not love him more cordially than they do. This is owing to his mature age, and because he is as conversant with the manners and language of England, as if born in the country. Some of the English noblemen have said that he rather than any other envoy is needed in England to effect the rupture with France; and when they knew that another ambassador was coming, they said the Signory did ill to change. The ambassador (Badoer) wishes to return home, as he has hard work. Every morning at daybreak he goes to mass arm in arm with some English noblemen, and after walking up and down for an hour, they attend the Council, and then he returns home.

Scarcely is he within doors ere some nobleman comes to visit him, and if he is from home his visitors wait for him, and refreshments are served. The ambassador is always prepared, and has six sorts of wines, some paid for, others taken on credit, for he has no money, though his credit is good. He has pawned his plate, sold his gowns, but still remains much in debt. Were this fact known to the Signory, they would supply him with funds for his maintenance. The ambassador's house is half a mile from Westminster, a very fitting site, as the lords of the court live thereabouts, and an ambassador ought not to trade, but merely learn what is doing at





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the court. The ambassador sleeps scarce two hours in the night ; he goes late to bed, and rises early.

The Parliament has decided that the King is to cross the Channel in the spring, in person, with 60,000 troops, all picked men, a match for 100,000. It was said that the King of France will not even fight, and that the King of England will have a great victory.

Formerly many rich French merchants had houses in London ; some of those who remain have been imprisoned, and their goods seized and sequestered. Some French tradesmen have also remained, but when the English found them abroad, they maltreated them.

A tax of a tenth has been levied throughout the kingdom. The lords and great personages \* (*gran mistri*) pay according to their property ; tradesmen, servants, and attendants one penny per head, equal to twenty-eight Venetian "piccoli." This tax will yield a million of gold, so that the King means to make war. The King is a young man of three and twenty ; when he moves the ground shakes under him ; is well made, tall, and stout, and very fond of the Venetian ambassador, whom he chooses to accompany him, so that the ambassador requires money for his outfit.

Having written thus far, announces the report of four great victories gained by the Spaniards over the French. The latter had lost 1,600 men-at-arms ; the entire amount of killed, including light horse and infantry, was 20,000, and amongst them was Mons. de la Palisse. The loss of the Spaniards was but little inferior. The French, expecting to take the Spaniards at unawares, were routed. They went to Pampeluna, then held by the Spaniards, took it and sacked it, together with two other towns ; but the Spaniards rallied, made a sudden attack, retook all the plunder, and routed the French. The latter again returned to the charge, and fought for three days longer, but at length the Spaniards remained victorious.

It was supposed that the King of France would go and hide himself in a hole underground, and not await the army of England, which, please God, is to take the field in the spring.

[Signed:] "Nicolò di Favri, of Treviso."

[*Italian*, 166 lines, or  $3\frac{1}{2}$  pages. Partly published in *Italian by Romanin*, Vol. 5, p. 509.]

Feb. 10.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xv. p. 533.

220. ANDREA BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the STATE.

Dated London, 20th January ; in cipher.

Letter sent at a venture through Germany. Complains that six months have elapsed without his receiving any instructions from the Signory concerning the mode in which he is to conduct himself ; and that it is said universally, both in England and Scotland, and all over the islands thereabouts, that the agreement between the Signory and the King of France is made, it being asserted that the Signory was right. The King of England would have preferred an agreement between the Emperor, Spain, and the Signory, and had ordered a great muster of troops, and also a

\* "Greater and lesser barons ;" see Lingard, vol. iv. p. 175, 176, footnote. (Ed. London, 1854.)





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fleet for the spring. A tax has been levied throughout the island to raise money for the invasion of France. Details also conversations with the King and the ministers; the latter say the King wished him (Badoer) vastly well, and had written to the Pope, to make terms between the Emperor and the Signory. The Emperor had written to the King, abusing the Venetians, because they reject the agreement, and are tyrants and usurpers of the towns of the empire. A nephew of the King of Spain has arrived in England, and has not been paid much honour, so that there is some discord between the two crowns; but they will nevertheless combine against France.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12.  
Mantuan  
Archives.

**221. JAMES IV., KING OF SCOTLAND, to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.**

Is sending to him Octavian Clarius, with a request that the Marquis will do his utmost to allay the dissension which has arisen in the Church, and acquaint him (the King) with the part he has determined to take, and also what hope he entertains of concord. Considers it his duty to act as mediator.

Edinburgh, 12th Feb. 1512 [1513.]

[*Signed* :] "Jacobus." [*Countersigned* :] "A secretis, Paniter."

[*Original, Latin.*]

Feb. 12.  
Mantuan  
Archives.

**222. ANDREW MOROMEY (*sic*) to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.**

Has heard by Octavian, the servant of the King (of Scotland), how much the Marquis has done for him with the Pope. Together with the King, requests the Marquis to aid the holy peace in conformity with the royal letters, of which Octavian is the bearer.

Edinburgh, 12th February 1513.

[*Original, Italian.*]

Feb. 12.  
Mantuan  
Archives.

**223. ANDREW MOROMEY (*sic*) to the PRINCE \* OF MANTUA.**

Has received a letter from him through Octavian, which gave his King and him much comfort. Octavian gave an account to the King of the Prince's personal appearance, and of all his endowments and qualities. The King was much pleased on hearing that he had such a kinsman of that age, most especially about the Pope's person. Requests the Prince to continue recommending him to the Pope. His King is sending Octavian to the Pope, and through said messenger the Prince will learn the intention of the King, and his own, concerning this peace.

Edinburgh, 12th February 1513.

[*Original, Italian.*]

Feb. 22.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 100.

**224. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.**

Have from time to time written to acquaint him with all events to prove to the King how loyal and sincere their proceedings have

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\* Federico Gonzaga the eldest son of Francesco Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, succeeded his father on the 28th March 1519.





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been. Are sorry their letters miscarried, but do not doubt that the Cardinal of York will have given true and detailed account of the whole transaction. Perceive by his last letters that the King continues to favour the Signory, and has written in good form to Rome, to the Emperor, and to the King of Spain. They are deeply grateful, and although the accompanying letter to the King will acquaint him with the fact, yet he (Badoer) is to return thanks; to request the King to persevere in his good intentions; to say that they on their part have not failed to offer the Emperor honourable terms; and to detail the proposals recently made by them through the Spanish ambassador, who yesterday departed for Germany to negotiate and conclude the agreement, should he meet with reciprocity, and not with procrastination and mere words. To make a like announcement to such other English lords as shall seem fit to him, thanking and urging them to persevere in upholding the Signory's interests; and, by all other means that shall seem suitable to him (as, not a little to his praise, he has done hitherto), to keep the King of England well disposed towards the Signory.

Send also the summary of the Turkish news, showing how favourable an opportunity is lost, to the detriment of the Christian religion.

Ayes, 161. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*, 35 lines.]

March 1.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 2.

## 225. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE

Dated 23rd January.

The King was making great preparations against France; it had been determined in the Council that he was to cross in person, and he went every day to hasten the fleet, and, above all, the great ship which he was building; so that, at any rate, in the spring he means to invade France. The Duke of Brunswick, the Emperor's captain general, who commanded the army of the Lady Margaret against the Duke of Guelders, had encountered a great defeat, losing two of his captains, one of whom, by name Mons. de Reselich, had been ransomed for — thousand Rhenish guilders.

[*Italian*.]

March 8.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 106,  
tergo.

226. PROPOSED LETTER from the Doge and Senate to the Secretary Alvise de Piero on his way to France, modifying his instructions, because it was understood that the agreement between Lewis XII. and the Switzers was becoming daily more difficult to negotiate, and that an attack on the Milanese was well-nigh impossible, as eleven cantons had signed the articles with the Duke of Milan; it being also understood, that owing to the preparations of the King of England and of Spain, and other movements beyond the Alps, the King of France would not undertake the Italian expedition this year.

Ayes, 57.

Amendment—"Quod stetur super capto."

Ayes, 121. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 1.

[*Italian*, 31 lines.]





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March 16.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 35.

**227. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

Dated London, 12th February, 1513.

Account of preparations making against France, and that Hampton was being fortified, as according to report the King of France had 111 (*sic*) ships in commission, and meant to invade the island, &c.

[*Italian.*]

March 16.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 35.

**228. LORENZO PASQUALIGO, merchant of Venice, resident in London, to his Brother.**

Dated 15th February, 1513.

Paragraph read to the Senate, narrating the very great preparations making by the King, who, in the course of the month, meant to invade France in person. Would have 100 ships, of which 70 were fitted out, and 30 were expected from Spain.

[*Italian.*]

March 16.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 36.

**229. SAME to SAME.**

Same date. Summary.

Had written on the 5th [February], and was without any letters from Venice since December 9, though others were in receipt of advices down to the 10th January. If the agreement between the Emperor [and Venice] take effect, he will immediately send much merchandize to Venice over land, as by sea it could not come so quickly, even were the voyage of the Flanders galleys renewed, as all ships join the English fleet, and more are required. On the other hand, should the agreement with the Emperor not take place ("which God forbid!"), the holders of western produce at Venice will be very fortunate. An adjustment with the Emperor would prove advantageous for the Signory, who might thus avoid ruin. The King of England has written very warmly in favour of the State to the Pope, to Spain, and to the Emperor, without being asked, much to the Signory's shame. About this new league [with France] not one word had ever been written by the State to a King so much her friend as is his Majesty of England. Being aware of what the English ambassador at Rome does for Venice, the whole court complains much of this silence, especially as Badoer has received letters, in which it would have been well to have complained to the King of the wrong done to the State by the [former] league, and to have requested his interference. This course would have been desirable for the sake of keeping him well disposed towards the State, most especially as the Signory had already written him a letter, with which both he and his Council were vastly pleased, and he said, "These Venetians have always wished well to the Crown of England; nor can I but love and do everything for them, as they are men of good faith."

It would be well to write to the King frequently. Great preparations are making, and in a week the fleet of 100 ships will go to sea, in the best possible trim; the fleet will meet with no opposition and have the mastery. After Easter the King will cross with a very great power. Hopes that he will go straight to Paris for his coronation, which result may God grant, he





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being the true King of France, and deservedly so, as within the last 1,000 years there never was a king more noble and more valiant; his courage is extreme, and may God save and give him victory and happiness for his perfect comportments.

Much gossip is circulated in London by foreigners, enemies of the State, who fain would that she should make an alliance with France, so that the whole world may attack her as last time. This report he (the writer) does not credit; nor is it believed by anyone at the English court that the Venetians would be so mad as to either give to or receive assistance from the dead.

No business doing. All at the war, and the chief trade in military stores and equipments.

[*Italian.*]

March 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 48.

**230.** The VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated 17th March.

Receipt by the Pope of a letter from the King of Scotland, exhorting him to make peace between France and England, as otherwise the King of Scotland cannot but attack England. He has 50 ships in order and prepared.

[*Italian.*]

March 31.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 62.

**231.** The VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated 22nd March.

Had presented the Senate's congratulatory letters to the Pope\* on the 19th, on which day he was crowned, although the 21st had been appointed for his coronation; but he did not choose it to take place on that day, "on account of the moon." The ceremonies were performed, the canopy being carried by the ambassadors, including himself. On entering the church he was seized with a fit of ague, and was obliged to depart in the middle of the mass. There were letters from England of the 16th February, about the great preparations making by its King against France, and by Scotland against England.

[*Italian.*]

April 13.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 131.

**232.** The VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated 8th April.

The main body of the English fleet had quitted for the invasion of France, having on board 12,000 infantry. The King in person would likewise cross.

[*Italian.*]

April 18.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xiv. p. 115,  
tergo.

**233.** The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL COURT.

Announce receipt of letters from their agents at Blois, dated the 6th and 7th, acquainting them with the truce between France and Spain, containing two essential articles. The first, that the truce will be ratified by the King of France, the King of Scotland,

\* Leo X., elected 11 March 1513.





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and the Duke of Guelders, the King of France guaranteeing the ratification by these two last; while the King of Spain, through the Bishop, his delegate, promises that the Emperor, the King of England, and the Queen of Castile will join the truce in two months; the truce being concluded and signed for one year. The second article stipulates expressly, that these truces are to take effect on that side the Alps, and not in Italy.

Ayes, 186. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 47 lines.]

April 18.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 116,  
tergo.

**234. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.**

Express conviction of the justice and goodness of the King. Have always gratefully accepted his suggestions and done their utmost to carry them into effect; and although—as known to the King through the Cardinal of York and his (Badoer's) own statements—the treatment received by them from the late Pope and from the ministers of the King of Spain was in direct violation of the confederation, yet the Signory, being most anxious for a reconciliation with the Emperor, as advised by the King (of England), consented that the Spanish ambassador resident at Venice should go to Germany to negotiate terms of peace, according to his promise.

Understanding, however, that the ambassador has settled nothing, but that the Emperor perseveres in his extreme harshness towards the State, and is in close negotiation for an agreement with France, which agreement the King of Spain approves, and perceiving, moreover, that they obtain nothing but words and procrastination, they have been compelled, in order to recover their own, to come to an arrangement and understanding with the most Christian King, concerning the affairs of Italy.

Badoer to confer with the King, to justify the course adopted, to assure him their good will is unaltered, and by all means to keep him well disposed towards the Republic.

Ayes 174. Noes 2. Neutrals 0.

[*Italian*, 28 lines.]

April 23.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 118.

**235. The DOGE and SENATE to the Secretary GIOVANNI PIETRO STELLA, accredited to the SWISS CANTONS.**

The truce between Spain and France contains two essential clauses:

First, the most Christian King engages that the King of Scotland and the Duke of Guelders will ratify the truces, the King of Spain doing the like in the name of the Emperor and the King of England; their adhesion to the truces to be given within two months.

Secondly, the truces relate solely to the other side the Alps, and not to the affairs of Italy.

Ayes 177. Noes 2. Neutrals 0.

[*Italian*, 81 lines.]





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April 23.  
Senato Mar,  
v. xviii. p. 4.

236. DECREE of the SENATE concerning TRADE with ENGLAND.

Motion for prolongation of the terms assigned for the importation of wools, cloths, and tin from England, Flanders, and Brabant. Reasons assigned for it. That although the term has already been extended to the close of February 1513, the result has fallen short of what is required, especially with regard to Frankish wools, as evident from official returns, showing that in 14 months not more than from 30,000 to 35,000 weight has been imported; whereas the annual amount required by the manufacturers exceeds 400,000 weight. That this failure has been caused by the insupportable tax of the half freights to which the importers are subjected, they being also in suspense concerning payment of the tenths. Therefore, for the support in Venice of the wool trade, by which a great part of the population lives, and whereas of 80 manufactories formerly in existence, only eight are now at work, there being but 50 bales of wool in Venice, a supply scarcely sufficient for from 15 to 20 days, and moreover of the worst quality and refuse, although fetching a high price; and lest the poor people be compelled to abandon Venice, as many have commenced doing, to the serious loss and detriment, not only of individuals, but yet more of the State, opportune and speedy provision being requisite,—Put to the ballot, that for the next eight months, all persons be allowed to import into Venice, by land and sea, western wools from any place soever; being bound to pay all the duties and customary entry dues, with the exception of the half-freights to the arsenal and the tenths.

Ayes 167. Noes 2.

April 30.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 174.

237. ANTONIO BAVARIN, factor of the Pesaro firm in London, to the PESARI in Venice.

Dated London, 9th April.

In the holy week, 69 ships quitted the port of London, amongst which were 12 of from 600 to 2,000 butts, the rest of from 200 to 500. At Hampton there were ten other ships, which had joined the above, forming a total of 80. The English have also some long and low vessels like galleys, worked by a great number of oars, which all the Biscayan mariners in England consider better men-of-war for the Channel than galleys. Besides a double complement of sailors to work the ships, there was a body of 16,000 picked soldiers, well supplied with provisions and the like. The King had given a coat (*una cota*) of green and white damask, his own colours, to each of the captains; a coat of camlet to each of the pilots, pinnaces, and masters; and a coat of good woollen cloth, green and white, to each of the sailors and soldiers. Nothing more had been heard of the expedition since its departure. From France nothing was heard about a fleet but idle stories, so that it was supposed the French would not show themselves to the English, who were intent on expediting their land forces; and by the middle of May, or soon after, would be ready with an innumerable force. Were other powers to emulate the King, who is in earnest, the French would fare badly. The new Pope has written to the King, praying him





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to persevere in the undertaking, which was unnecessary, as the latter is more eager than ever.

Estimates the English army at 10,000 (*sic*) men-at-arms on horseback, Burgundians and Picards or others; a like amount of English cavalry—the greater part light horse, and the rest heavy and barbed; 12,000 English infantry archers, discharging arrows like darts; 6,000 halberdiers; and 12,000 with a weapon never seen until now, six feet in length, surmounted by a ball, with six steel spikes. They have even Switzers, and much ordnance, with a wagon train and other innumerable appliances. For the royal body guard, besides the cavalry, there are the King's own thousand men of the crown, in most excellent array. The King has also 14 well conditioned horses, with housings of the richest cloth of gold and crimson velvet, with silver gilt bells of great value, and so much other costly furniture that it would be too long to describe.

[*Italian.*]

April 30.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 175.

238. HENRY VIII. to CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIDGE, CARDINAL OF YORK, Ambassador at Rome.

Has received his letters concerning the death of Julius II., and election of Leo X. Pope Leo's adhesion to the Holy Alliance shows that he greatly favours him (the King) and his father Ferdinand the Catholic. Encloses a copy of his congratulatory letter to the new Pope. Whilst approving the Pope's exhortations as to peace, is unable to comply, on account of the hostile preparations made by him, and of his pledges to the Emperor and Spain. Refers to a papal brief urging the prosecution of the war, in preference to a dishonourable peace. To tell the Pope that the English fleet with 12,000 troops is now at sea, to invade the enemy, and that in May he himself will do the like in person. That his commander-in-chief with the royal forces and ordnance is crossing the Channel. Expresses his belief that, with regard to the Holy Alliance, the Pope will tread in the footsteps of his predecessor; wishes to receive from him a bond to that effect\*, and adjures him in the name of God to commence war with the common enemy. The late Pope often promised to send his army, in company with that of the Viceroy of Naples, into Provence, and to act against the common enemy; whereupon the Pope and all Italy would unite the sovereigns of Christendom against the Infidels. Observes on the other hand, that were he now so suddenly to assent to peace, before thwarting the intention of the common foe to subjugate all Italy and enslave the Church, the Pope would be liable to no small peril.

Is also to ask confirmation of all the bulls given against the enemies of the Church, and amendment of some which do not satisfy him. Amongst other things beseeches his Holiness that the interdict of the kingdom of England may remain (*ut interdictum regni Angliæ remaneat*).† Has heard that the Schismatics‡ were doing

\* "Ut Sanctitas sua hanc obligationem factam ad nos mittat."

† See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 530. From the Harl. MS. no. 3462, f. 28, it would seem that the correct words in the original were, "ut interdictum regni Gallie innovet." The Latin in the copy of Sanuto's Diaries is often very faulty and unintelligible, not to say nonsensical.

‡ The Cardinals who formed the conventicle of Pisa.





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their utmost to be reconciled to the Pope. Is of opinion that the Pope would disgrace himself exceedingly were he to reinstate such men. One of the Schismatics, if reinstated, might succeed to the papacy, when he would doubtless favour the King of the French. The Pope is bound not to make peace with any of the enemies of the Alliance. Understood lately, that the King of Scots, on hearing that Pope Julius had conceded to him (King Henry) the interdict of his kingdom, determined to send the Bishop of Murray through France to Rome, both to hinder its execution and prevent its confirmation.

Recently the King of Scots addressed the following words to the English ambassador at his court, the Dean of Windsor [Nicholas West]: "I shall appeal against the letters of execution." The ambassador answered that it was impossible to appeal from similar acts, as the Pope had no superior; to which the King replied: "I shall appeal to Prejean the Pirate and to the apostleship of the aforesaid formidable King of the French."\*

Has received a copy of the letter sent by the King of Scots to the College of Cardinals, exhorting them to adjust a universal peace, and accusing him (King Henry) of denying passage to all the messengers despatched by the King of Scots to France for that purpose. Reproaches the said King with having asserted that when he sent to England a brief from Pope Julius *de pace tractanda*, he (King Henry) declared the Pope had changed his mind. Asserts in reply that a peace would enable France to recruit and return to Italy. That the Pope (Julius) was not at liberty to make peace without the consent of his allies. That he had written contradictory briefs, urging him to persevere in war; writing also in similar form to the King of Scots to follow his footsteps, and acquainting him with the well known treaty between Rome and the Emperor. The Pope having changed his mind, he (the King) modified his safeconduct for the Bishop of Murray accordingly, as otherwise he would, according to his fashion, have circulated a report of being authorized by him to arrange peace; but nevertheless offered the Bishop a safeconduct for Rome, should he choose to go thither to learn the opinion of the Pope.

With regard to the complaints of the King of Scots about damages inflicted by English ships, declares that, under colour of peace, that King and his subjects joined the French, and did more harm to England and Englishmen than they to him and his. Maintains that peace [with France] would not have been irksome to him, had he not been bound to abide by the Alliance. Wishes the Cardinal to narrate all this in his name to the Sacred College; and gives him in conclusion the following instructions:

"We know for certain that should the Bishop of Murray come to Rome, he would endeavour to negotiate many matters contrary to

\* "Appellabo ad Petrum Joannem et apostolatum præfactum [sic; præfacti?] tremendi Regis Gallorum." Père Daniel styles this naval commander Pregent de Bidoux. The English chronicler Hall shows that he was a knight of Rhodes, and calls him "Prior John;" showing moreover that on the 25th April 1513, the admiral of England lost his life in a seafight against him. The threat of the King of Scotland was an allusion to the naval renown of Prejean, for whom Lewis XII. had sent from the Barbary coast, where he was protecting the ships of Rhodes bound to Tripoli. (See Hall, p. 535.)





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our undertaking against the enemies of the Church, whereby we are bound to defend it. On this account it seems expedient both to us and to the Council, if it can be done, that on the road he be intercepted, lest he reach Rome to disturb our holy expedition; touching which matter, at our request, the ambassador of the Catholic King here resident with us has now written instructions to his colleague for the arrest of the said Bishop either by the Duke of Milan or by the Viceroy, so that Rome he approach not.”\*

April 12, 1513.

[*Latin*, 4 pages.]

May 3.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 186.

**239. LORENZO PASQUALIGO, Merchant of Venice, to his BROTHERS.**

Dated London, 23 March 1513.

The King had sent out 70 ships, with 20,000 men in all, efficient and in good order. Is of opinion the French will not dare show themselves, as the English would give them the worst of it, as is their wont. The King said he should cross in May with as great a power as any of his predecessors, and with such pomp and outlay of money (of which he had no lack), that the like was never seen. Besides his English troops, he had 10,000 lansquenets and men-at-arms on horseback from the province of Hainault and from Germany, already on their march; and he was making such great provision for the war, that it was a marvel; and it was said he would go to Paris. Prays God that he may do what shall be for the best. Had repeatedly written to them to inform the Signory that the King was anxious for a letter from the State, and that one should be written. Had received for answer that this should be done, yet no letter was sent; and he was daily asked for it, and knew not what to reply. The ambassador Badoer was likewise without letters; and it was in truth monstrous that when the King or his ministers ask about anything, they should be at a loss for an answer. Does not know where the blame should rest, unless it proceed from holding English matters in small account, which will assuredly prove mischievous. Venice might have England for her friend for paper without farther cost, and yet does not choose to do so. Will say no more—they are sage, and he leaves the matter in their hands.

[*Italian*.]

May 9.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 197.

**240. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.**

Dated 5th May.

Receipt by the papal court of letters from England, dated 8th, 11th, and 18th April, concerning the very great preparations making by the King against France, and about the departure of his fleet

\* The contemporary transcript of the foregoing letter in the Harleian MSS., no. 3,462, f. 28, (see Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 531.), does not contain the closing paragraph, which records the King's order to intercept the Bishop of Murray, after having granted him a safeconduct, and which reads thus:—"Episcopus Muraniensis, si ad urbem veniet, multa certe scimus tractare conabitur contra nostram adversus hostes Ecclesie expeditionem, qua Ecclesiam Dei defendere debuimus. Quare et nobis et Consilio expedire videtur, ut in itinere, si fieri posset, interceptiatur, ne Romam perveniat ad sanctam nostram expeditionem perturbandam; qua in re rogatu nostro orator Regis Catholici, hic apud nos agens, scripsit in præsentia ad collegam suum, qui instructus est ut præfatus Episcopus interceptiatur, vel a Duce Mediolanensi, vel a Vicerege, Roman ne accedat."





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in good order ; it being his intention to cross in person. Also that he was in league with the Emperor, to whom he was giving 100,000 crowns, to attack France in the other direction. Considers this intelligence of the greatest possible importance, yet the Pope made no change on this account, and remains neutral.

[*Italian.*]

May 10.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 205.

241. ANDREA BADOER to his son-in-law, FRANCESCO GRADENIGO.

Dated London, 13th March to 11th April.

Already, on the 13th March, the English fleet against France was at sea, numbering upwards of 50 sail. The smallest of 18 butts, ten of from 800 to 1,500, and 20 of 400 butts and upwards, having good soldiers on board, besides seamen. The King was to cross in May with not less than 40,000 men ; and those who were to accompany him had got their camp equipage in readiness.

By the second letter, dated 11th April, announces having received the Signory's missive on the 2nd, by way of Rome ; had been to the King, and replied in great haste according to the tenour of his despatch to the State.\*

By a third letter, expresses his wish for a speedy reply to his despatch of the 11th, that he may know what he is to do, as the King would assuredly depart in forty days at the farthest, and he should not follow him without orders and [pecuniary] supply from the Signory. Apologizes for this, on the plea of being destitute of money, and of any outfit requisite for a person going to the wars. Says he must remain behind ; that all the others who were going had already prepared their weapons, horses, attendants, baggage wagons, tents, and provisions ; and that in a week the Earl of Shrewsbury was expected with 12,000 men, who were to encamp under canvas outside London. Other noblemen likewise were mustering their forces from day to day, so that if not on shipboard by the 20th May, the departure would take place shortly after.

[*Italian.*]

May 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 213.

242. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated 8th May.

Receipt there of letters from France from the Cardinal of Nantes, dated Blois, 26th April . . . That the King was sending three ambassadors to Spain to make peace with King Ferdinand, who wished for it, and had recalled some ships of his then serving with the English fleet, the crews of which had landed in Brittany, and at other places, but had been repulsed.

[*Italian.*]

May 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 214.

243. STATEMENT made in the COLLEGE by the Spanish Ambassador, COUNT OF CARIATI.

That he had received letters from the Viceroy in date of Piacenza, how the King of England, the Emperor, and his Catholic Highness, had made a league together, including the Duke of Milan and the

\* The summary of the public despatch does not exist in the Diaries of Sanuto, who merely mentions having read the private letter addressed by Badoer to his son-in-law.





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Switzers. He then added that the report of a truce for one year between his King and the King of France was untrue.

[*Italian.*]

May 17.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 240.

244. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated 13th and 14th May.

Announces receipt there of letters from France, dated Blois, 3rd instant. That the English fleet had put to sea to attack France, and that Prejean with six galleys had taken two English ships, and was gone to relieve a certain harbour which the English had blockaded.

[*Italian.*]

May 20.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 245.

245. STATEMENT made in the VENETIAN COLLEGE by the Papal

envoy, who showed a letter received by him from Florence, dated 15th, giving the contents of a letter from Blois, in date of the 3rd, how the English and French fleets fought a battle, of which the English had the worst, one of their great men being missing; so they sent to ask him of the French, who had him not; then they dragged (*fo pescà*), and a body was found, apparently that of a man of rank.

[*Italian.*]

May 23.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 262.

246. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated 19th and 20th.

The English and French fleets had fought a battle to the disadvantage of the former, and an English captain was missing.

[*Italian.*]

June 4.

Lettere del  
Collegio  
(Secreta).

247. The DOGE and COLLEGE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Received his bill of exchange, dated 18 December 1512, for 600 ducats drawn in London, in favour of the knight of Rhodes, Sir Thomas Newport, payable by the State to the noblemen the bankers, Capelli and Vendramini. Had accepted the bill and would pay it. Desire him to thank Sir Thomas in the Signory's name for the accommodation, assuring him that the State will not fail to do what is due and fair.

As the Signory is unable by reason of present necessities to provide him with funds in England in any other way, authorize him to obtain another 400 ducats from Sir Thomas, he (Badoer) giving notice to the State of the order for repayment. Should Sir Thomas Newport be unable to supply these 400 ducats, he (Badoer) is to obtain them from other knights of Rhodes; and, to secure the means for such accommodation, to exhibit the present letter furnished with the ducal leaden seal, which will suffice to attest the Signory's guarantee.

Ayes, 21. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

Enclose Italian and Turkish newsletters; the former are not to be shown to the King, but merely to serve for Badoer's own guidance when discussing the affairs of Italy.

[*Italian.*]





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June 9.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 319.

248. ROBERTO ACCIAJUOLO, Florentine Ambassador in France,  
to the SIGNORY of FLORENCE.

Dated Orleans, 20th May.

Nothing fresh was heard of the English, save that they had beheaded the Earl of Suffolk (who was King Henry's prisoner), because his brother was there at the French court; it being said that he [Richard de la Pole] was the rightful heir of that realm.

Report that not only King Henry, but all the ministry and people in general, were so exasperated at the truce made by Spain with France, that they would have killed the Spanish ambassador, had not the outrage been prevented through the favour of the King; and they released the ambassador only on his taking oath that he had received no notice of the truce. On proclaiming the new confederacy between the Emperor and England, no mention of the King of Spain was made.

[Italian.]

July 2.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 416.

249. NOTE by SANUTO that this morning it was heard that the English merchant Piero da Cordes (*sic*) had received letters from Rome, dated 28th June, announcing advices that the English had landed in France and fought a battle with the French with great slaughter on both sides, and that at length both armies retreated and made truce for a certain while; yet nothing was known about this in the College.

[Italian.]

July 3.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 420.

250. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Dated London, 6th June.

25,000 English had crossed over to France, and other troops were being mustered. The King and Queen in person would also cross; the number of combatants amounted to 60,000, in most excellent order. The King's fleet had returned to the island and embarked a reinforcement of 6,000 men under the command of the Earl of Surrey. The Signory's letters had fallen into the hands of Monsignor di Anzurant (*sic*)\* and being in cipher, he directed Badoer to decipher them in his presence, which was done; and having read them and understood the Signory's apologies for the league with France, he expressed dissatisfaction thereat, though the fact was known previously.

Badoer then went to the King, who denied him audience, but at length conceded it, and on hearing what the Signory had written, complained of the league made with his enemy, who formed it to deceive the State, and did not keep faith; said the Signory did wrong not to write to him, and appoint him mediator to negotiate an agreement with the Emperor; and then offered to effect this, saying that if the Signory placed themselves in the hands of the Pope, of the Catholic King, and of himself, justice would be done; or if the Signory would refer the matter to him alone, he would act with fairness and equity; and that he had written to the Emperor not to abstain from making an agreement with the Signory for a trifle.

\* The Bishop of Durham?





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Badoer had audience likewise of the Privy Council. Announces a letter to the Signory from the King, adding that three of his servants had been wounded by the English on account of this league made with France, and that he himself hesitated to go out of doors. By St. John's Day, the King would have crossed over to France. The troops landed at Calais were all picked men, armed with corslets, bracelets, sallets, and gorgets, and over their armour a coat (*uno saion*) of white and green, the King's colours. The King had enlisted 1,000 Flemish cavalry, each of whom might be considered a man-at-arms.

[*Italian.*]

July 3.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 421.

251. PERUSAL in the Senate of a "sage" Latin letter from Henry VIII. to the Signory, dated 6th June, composed by his secretary, Carmeliano. Complains of the league made with the King of France, as he was a promise breaker and would betray the State, and offers his own mediation for peace with the Emperor.

[*Italian.*]

July 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 427.

252. ANTONIO BAVARIN, factor of the Pesaro firm in London, to the PESARI at Venice.

Dated London, 1st June 1513.

The King was continuing the expedition. Besides the very numerous fleet, he had last week sent the Lord Steward to Calais with 16,000 men, who were to form the vanguard; and in a week the Lord Chamberlain was to depart with the second division numbering 14,000 men, and then the King would follow with 12,000. At Calais they had 20,000 Burgundians, Picards, Germans, and Switzers; they would number 60,000 combatants. Choicer troops in more perfect order had not been seen for many years; amongst them were from 9,000 to 10,000 heavy barbed cavalry and 8,000 light horse; the infantry included 14,000 archers, and 2,000 mounted bowmen, others having long spears, halberts, and axes, and cannon that would suffice to conquer Hell. The valuables they took with them were incredible; the housings of the King's charger and the jewels around his head piece were worth 15,000 crowns. Never had a finer sight been seen.

[*Italian.*]

July 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 427.

253. LORENZO PASQUALIGO, merchant of Venice, to his brothers ALVISE and FRANCESCO.

Dated London, 6th June.

Part of the King's troops had crossed over to Calais, and the rest, together with his Majesty in person, would follow by the 25th. The army would amount in all to some 50,000 or 60,000 men, as well supplied with arms and artillery as any army ever had been. On the other side the Channel they had also 2,500 steel-clad cavalry from the province of Hainault, and also German troops. The army marched with all possible pomp and the greatest courage. It was believed the French would not wait for them in the field. Besides the fleet, on board of which they had put 6,000 additional men, all ships reaching England were detained. The





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King would keep faith with his colleagues, although they act otherwise by him, especially Spain, which, according to report, had made a truce with France.

[*Italian.*]

July 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 427.

254. ANDREA AMONIO, Latin Secretary of Henry VIII., to  
NICOLO CHAFIRI [CHORFI?],\* merchant in Venice.

Dated London, 3rd June.

The Signory's peace, reconciliation, and league with the French caused great displeasure to everybody in England, as the Venetians had hitherto been universally popular there; whereas now, owing to their friendship with the French, men's minds were of necessity estranged from them; nor did all persons take into account the motives which induced the State thus to act, though many of the English lords were aware that the mischief had been caused by the Spaniards, whose fickleness had obtained for them a bad repute in England. The King might overlook the Signory's league with the French, were it not for the Emperor; and should French affairs proceed as desired, there would then be a chance of the Emperor's receiving succour from England against Venice, by reason of the close relationship and friendship between him and the King.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 444.

255. MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to  
the STATE.

Dated Paris, 6th and 9th June.

The King was there, intent on the affairs of England, who had already landed. The French had determined not to await the enemy in the field, but to keep in the towns. The captains appointed were the Duke of Bourbon and Mons. de la Palisse.

The King was negotiating an agreement with England; and had intended to engage 10,000 Switzers, but was unable to obtain them.

[*Italian.*]

July 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 445.

256. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated 2nd and 4th.

Receipt there of recent letters from France, announcing the march of the French, as the English had landed in great force, and the King of England was coming in person.

[*Italian.*]

July 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
av. xvi. p. 471.

257. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated 9th and 10th July.

Was told by the Cardinal San Severino that he had received letters from the French court, dated 26th June, how 1,500 English infantry had been routed under Boulogne; that the King of England had not crossed, but that the King of Scots had declared in favour of France, and invaded England with an army of 40,000 men.

[*Italian.*]

\* See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 548, no. 3965.





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July 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 478.**258.** STATEMENT made in the College by the Pope's Ambassador BIBIENA.

That the English, after a demonstration of besieging Boulogne, had marched in great force against Terouenne, which town was strongly and stoutly garrisoned, having 250 spears, a number of archers, and 2,000 foot soldiers, and was expected to hold out; in which case it would be easy to imagine the result of so bold an undertaking on the part of the King of England, who had not yet crossed, though reports to the contrary were circulated.

[Italian.]

July 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 480.**259.** LETTER from FLORENCE, received by way of Rome, concerning the affairs of France.

Letters of the 3rd from Paris state that the English were closely besieging Terouenne; that those within defended themselves stoutly, and that the English, when encamping under the town, had captured many hundred men. It was also heard that 600 English who went from Terouenne towards Calais for provisions, were attacked by the people of Boulogne and lost 300 men and upwards, besides 70 cart horses. That three French men-at-arms and two archers had been killed, and two captains of men-at-arms wounded, names unknown. The Duke of Guelders was sending a succour of 1,000 infantry to aid the French, though it was thought the writer had omitted a cipher, and meant 10,000, which was probable, as 1,000 infantry could do but little for him. On that day, the 3rd, it was said the King of England would cross, though nothing was known for certain. Should the succour from Guelders arrive, the French would take the field.

[Italian.]

July 23.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 497.

**260.** COMMUNICATION by BIBIENA of a letter from Florence, announcing the arrival on the 17th of the French ambassador, the Bishop of Marseilles. Also of letters from France, dated the 3rd, how, while the English were encamped under Terouenne, the besieged made a sally and caused them some loss, taking three pieces of artillery.

[Italian.]

July 23.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 497.**261.** The BISHOP OF MARSEILLES to the Procurator ANDREA GRITL.

Dated Florence, 18th July.

The French and English had fought a battle, in which some 15,000 men were killed, the most part English; the French were victorious.

[Italian.]

July 23.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 500.**262.** ROBERTO ACCIAJUOLO, Florentine Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY of FLORENCE.

Dated Paris, 3rd July 1513.

Had mentioned in his last that the landing of the King of England at Calais was not verified, and that his army was be-





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sieging Terouenne. The English had battered the place in several directions, but down to the present time their progress was small, nor had they made any assault, and the artillery of the besieged had done them much damage.

Two days before the date of the letter intelligence was received that the French had attacked 500 infantry, who were conveying provisions from Calais, and had killed some 300 men and captured 80 carthorses. Three French archers were killed, and two captains of men-at-arms wounded, namely, Monsieur de Plessi and Monsieur d'Imbrecourt; no other collision had taken place.

On that morning it was said that the King of England had disembarked at Calais, but this was not yet known for certain. Considers it desirable that the French should take the Duke of Guelders into their service, with 1,000 spears and some hundred horse; and, should they do so, they would then take the field with a considerable force in the course of July.

Understood that the Pope had appointed two legates, one to England and one to France, for the negotiation of an agreement and peace, which would be much to the purpose at this present time.

[*Italian.*]

July 24.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 507.

#### 263. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the STATE.

Dated Paris, 13th June to 3rd July.

The King of England had not yet landed. The French had used the English roughly at Terouenne, and taken 150 provision carts, killing 500 English infantry who escorted them, while others of the same infantry escaped to a castle in Flanders. Details conversations with the King (of France), who said he should have 3,500 spears and 40,000 infantry against the English. Says most positively that the King (of France) would have 3,000 spears and 35,000 infantry.

[*Italian.*]

July 24.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 507.

#### 264. GIAN GIACOMO TRIULZI to ANDREA GRITI, in Venice.

Dated Ors (*sic*; Tours?), July 13th and 14th.

Advices received from France that the English had been worsted by the French. Monsieur de la Trimouille had written to him that the Switzers were quarrelling amongst themselves, and that the French had killed 2,000 English and captured three commanders, including the captain of the infantry, the Bastard of Luigne (*sic*) and another.

[*Italian.*]

July 30.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 538.

#### 265. The SIGNORY of FLORENCE to PIETRO DI BIBIENA, Papal Ambassador at Venice.

Announce advices received from their ambassador at the French court, dated the 14th, that the King was going in person to join the army against the English, together with all the chief nobility of France, and would have 2,800 spears and 20,000 infantry.

The King of England had disembarked at Calais with 40,000





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men, and was in the camp under Terouenne. The English had 2,000 horse, and were expected to give battle.

[*Italian.*]

July 31.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi.  
p. 541, 542.

**266.** The VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated 26th and 27th.

Receipt of letters from France from the 14th to the 18th. The King was going in force against the King of England (who had landed at Calais) with 32,000 men and 3,000 horse. The King (of France) was awaiting other troops, and would proceed with all the nobility of France to Amiens, the place of muster. The commanders-in-chief of the army were Monsieur d'Angoulême and the Duke of Bourbon; and the Duke of Guelders was expected with 10,000 infantry and a certain amount of horse. Terouenne continued firm, and the English had rather retreated than otherwise.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 2.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvi. p. 9.

**267.** The COUNCIL OF TEN to the Ambassador DANDOLO in FRANCE.

Announce the receipt of a missive from the King of France, dated 5th July, affirming his intention of persevering in his alliance and confederation with the State. Are expecting to hear the good result of the expedition against the English, hoping that the most Christian King will immediately assume the Italian undertaking, &c.

[*Italian, 31 lines.*]

Aug. 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 564.

**268.** MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Dated from the 14th July to the 19th.

The King was at the wood of Vincennes and preparing to take the field against the King of England, who had landed at Calais on the last day of June in great force. The King would have 3,000 spears and 30,000 infantry. Terouenne was holding out; and the King of Scotland had sent ships in aid of France, and a letter to the King, expressing surprise at his not having written to him to attack England; whereupon the King immediately wrote back to him to do so. Assurances given by the King of France to Dandolo that he hoped to be in Milan by Michaelmas; that he had 1000 spears in readiness between Dauphiny and Lyons, and that immediately on making some arrangement with the English, he would send them into Italy. In Terouenne there were 400 spears and 2,500 infantry, and the King meant to throw in a reinforcement of another hundred spears. The King of England had landed at Calais, with 500 gentlemen richly clad. Amongst the 30,000 French infantry would be 1,000 lansquenets. The deceased King of Denmark, uncle to the King of Scots, had bequeathed the latter 100,000 ducats, which he wanted to get, or had already obtained, to act against the English. The King of Scots had also sent eleven ships into Brittany to assist France, including one of 1,000 tons (*tuneli*), and two of 500; the others of less burden.





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Part of these ships had been built for an expedition against the Infidels.\*

The Bishop of Murray, ambassador from Scotland, was at the French court about a certain sum of money, and had asked him (Dandolo) for his assistance in the matter. Two commanders-in-chief against the English had been appointed; namely, Monsieur d'Angoulême, the King's son-in-law, heir presumptive to the crown, and the Duke of Bourbon, which last, together with Monsieur d'Aubigny, had already departed. The King would not give battle to the English. Is informed that Terouenne would hold out for two months longer, and even should it be lost, the King of England, who announces his intention of being there in person to witness the attack, would, together with his most powerful army, be surrounded (*impresonà*).

The King was at the wood of Vincennes. He seemed always bent on the alliance with the Signory; but "these English affairs" much impeded him. Account as already stated of his 1,000 spears in Dauphiny, Provence, Languedoc, and Burgundy, all of which he would immediately march forward into Italy. In short, the King was raising a great army, but will not give battle; and he (Dandolo) is of opinion that the King of England cannot remain [abroad] long.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 5.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 572.

269. ROBERTO ACCIAJUOLO, Florentine Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY of FLORENCE.

Dated 21st to 23rd July 1513.

Two days since it was heard that a reinforcement of some 200 spears, and about 100 pioneers to assist in making the fortifications, got safely into Terouenne, after a slight skirmish, some 10 French men-at-arms being killed and 300 English. On that morning (23rd July), advices were received from Monsieur de Pienes, the governor of Picardy, how the besieged, understanding that the English were digging a certain mine whereon they rested their hopes of victory, sprang a countermine and killed all the workmen. Nothing else had been done. Very strong fortifications had been raised within, and both soldiers and townspeople were in good heart, not afraid of being stormed, and being provisioned for many months. To cut off the enemy's supplies, which for the most part had to be brought a distance of 30 miles overland from the coast, 800 spears were very near the English camp. Thus was there a great diminution of that panic which prevailed when the English first appeared under Terouenne, for had the place been taken in a few days as apprehended, it would greatly have disordered the French; but the English have already been 29 days under the walls without making a single assault, or any bold attempt, whereby they have lost repute.

The King (of France) had not departed on account of the gout, but was expected to move towards Amiens in two days.

Postscript, dated 25th [July 1513]. The King was gone towards Amiens, and Acciajuolo would follow him.

[*Italian.*]

\* See before, date 29th May 1510.





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Aug. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 580.**270. BISHOP OF TURIN to the SIGNORY.**

Dated the 24th [July].

The King (of France) would depart on the 25th, to take the field against the English, whose King was at Calais. Terouenne was holding out valiantly, and had received succour.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 580.**271. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.**

Dated the 4th.

By letters from France, dated from the 18th to 21st July, succour had been put into Terouenne by the King of France. The King of England had not stirred from Calais, and the King of France was mustering his army at Amiens, in number 35,000 foot and 3,500 spears. The Duke of Guelders had come in aid of France; and Monsr. de la Trimouille was already on the march with a good number of spears, so that France was again on the ascendant at Rome. By letters from the Switzers, they had apparently received 15,000 ducats from the Emperor, out of those sent to him by the King of England, and they were expecting the rest from the Pope, on receipt of which they would then invade Burgundy. The Emperor was gone to Luxemburg to prevent the lansquenets from coming to the aid of France.\*

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 11.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 588.**272. UNSIGNED LETTER to COUNT GUIDO RANGONE.**

Dated 9th August, 1513, "in the Chancery."†

Intelligence received through several channels of the rout of the English. Letter from the French court purporting that the King sent 15 frank-archers to the army, to say that he would give battle, and would be there in person. That thereupon the French camp took courage, by so much the more as they heard that the King (of France) was coming, and without waiting for him, gave battle, so that upwards of 26,000 English were killed, and the Viceroy (*sic*) of England captured.

Also that Prejean had worsted the English fleet, and killed its Admiral, and that 700 English men-at-arms had been killed.

A courier had arrived [at Rome] from the Emperor's court, saying that all there were dispirited. Conclusion of the writer that the cause proceeded from the English reverses.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 608.**273. VETOR LIPOMANO's letter, dated Rome, 11th August.**

News received by the French ambassador at Rome from the court of France, how the French had given battle to the English and killed 4,000 of them, capturing some artillery. The French represent their affairs as prosperous, lest the Venetians take part against them. The Spaniards no longer boasted as was their wont. For certain, the French had taken one heavy piece of cannon from

\* See before, date 4th August.

† From Rome?





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the English, and very nearly captured the King of England, who made his escape; an agreement was in course of negotiation between him and the King of France.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 15.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi.  
pp. 610, 611.

#### 274. UNSIGNED LETTER from FRANCE.

Dated Lyons, 14th July, and transmitted to Rome.

Terouenne considered itself safe, and the garrison had sent to tell the King (of France) to assemble his forces at his leisure, and they would hold out until All Saints', as they had plenty of provisions for that period, and in greater abundance than their besiegers, who dared not stir a bow-shot's distance from their camp by reason of the strong cavalry force which the King of France had in those parts; in such wise that the King of England, who came to provision his camp, finding 2,500 men-at-arms in front of it, changed his march, placing a river between himself and the enemy; and, taking the road towards Guines to the left, straight seaward, in six days he did not advance more than one league; so Mons. de Pienes and the Grand Master fell upon his rear, and he lost some 300 Englishmen and two heavy pieces of artillery.

The King of France enjoyed better health than he did four years ago. It was in reality determined he should join the camp where he was then supposed to be with a force amounting to 2,500 men-at-arms, 22,000 lansquenets, (including those brought by the Duke of Guelders,) besides 18,000 other Picard, Norman, and Gascon infantry, without reckoning the light horse or the forces and retinue of the princes and pensioners, who had done their utmost to march in good order.

It would be difficult to specify the amount of artillery; but there were 3,500 horses for its conveyance and 6,000 pioneers to make esplanades and other necessary works, so that the army would be the greatest ever witnessed within the last 200 years.

The English are no more talked about in France than if they were in Ireland, save in the province where they are, and at Lyons; and the entire population of France, both gentle and simple, are so exasperated against the English that the King had much to do to restrain them. With God's assistance, he would do his utmost to expel the invaders, and everybody thought he would succeed, seeing that so considerable a force had been encamped under Terouenne, one of the weakest towns in France, during five weeks and six days; a proof that they would have much to do were they to require as long a time for the capture of the rest.

The King of the Romans was at Ulm, where he met a certain number of the princes of the Empire, from whom he obtained nothing that he asked against France. He then proceeded to Luxemburg, demanding pecuniary succour for the war, which was openly refused. He was then at Brussels, and, according to report, would return to the frontiers of Guines for a conference with the King of England, and to endeavour to obtain money, of which he had need.

[*Italian.*]





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Aug. 18.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvi. p. 13.**275. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

By his last of the 19th, learnt the very powerful preparations made by the King of France against the English, and how Terouenne held out stoutly, which news caused them singular satisfaction, as the ambassador can well comprehend, &c.

Is to acquaint the King of France with the whole, praying him, as they also mentioned in their last, not in the least to delay resuming the Italian undertaking; or, if unable so to do thus immediately, by reason of the English, at least to make every demonstration.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 50 lines.*]

Aug. 22.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. p. 629.**276. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the STATE.**

Dated 24th July.

The Scotch were levying war against the English; had crossed the Borders in one direction with 14,000 horse, and in another with 10,000; had advanced upwards of 30 miles; had taken four towns, doing great damage to the English; and had sent to sea a fleet of 22 ships, one of which was so large that it carried 6,000 (*sic*) combatants, besides 2,000 (*sic*) sailors; it was to join the King of France. The King of Scots in person would invade England.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 23.

Misti  
Consiglio X.,  
v. xxxvi. p. 14.**277. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

To give them notice of the proceedings of the English at Terouenne and elsewhere; of the amount of the French army and its quality; of the Duke of Guelders and of his arrival; how the affairs of Scotland proceed; and whether the Catholic King continues to observe the truces.

[*Italian, 39 lines.*]

Aug. 27.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi. pp. 645,  
647-651.**278. DEFIANCE from the KING OF SCOTLAND to the KING OF ENGLAND, his brother-in-law.**

To be presented by the herald on the 4th August. Note by Marin Sanuto, that as it was "a remarkable document," he would copy it.\*

[*Italian, 3½ pages or 161 lines.*]

\* In substance as printed in Hall; with some differences, of which the most important are the following:—

"Brother" (in Hall, p. 345), "Brother-in-law" (Sanuto).

"Raff Herald" (H. p. 345) "Araldo Rosso," Red or Ross Herald (Sanuto).

After the words "but by their attorneys" (H. p. 345), "we know not where you find these laws, as they are not contained in the civil and canon laws, and you and your predecessors must well know that it was never enjoined them; nor can you show us these your laws. Should this be the case, the Judge Supreme will judge by divine authority, and we choose and mean judgment to be given thus, and as was done of yore by your predecessors" (Sanuto).

"Herauld Hay" (H. p. 545), "Herald Alexio" (Sanuto).

"Father of Arragon" (H. p. 545), "Father-in-law, King of Arragon" (Sanuto).

"Dearest brother" (H. p. 546), "Dearest brother-in-law" (Sanuto).

"And principally for the security of 10,000 marks in cattle, which was a great reproach to us and to your law"—(omitted in H. p. 546).





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Aug. 28.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvi., pp. 654,  
655.

## 279. JULIANO DE' MEDICI to BORTOLOMEO D' ALVIANO.

Letter from the French court, dated Beauvais, 8th August, forwarded to Rome, and seen by Marin Sanuto at Padua.

The English were still encamped under Terouenne, where they had been upwards of six weeks, without making any attack on the town, but they boast of assaulting it to-day or to-morrow, and if unsuccessful had determined to retire and go (according to report) to Montreuil or St. Quentin; but the town was well provided, and they were not expected to take it by storm. The French army was sufficiently strong to give battle to the English, but would not risk anything until the arrival of the Duke of Guelders, who was expected without fail on the 13th instant, with 10,000 lansquenets and 500 German horse; whereupon the army would be the finest ever seen in France.

The King of Scots had declared himself entirely for France, had sent a herald to defy the King of England in his camp, and was to invade England on the 16th instant with 60,000 men.

"And you have also guaranteed [*zurato* for *sicurato*] Robert Stuart [Staret] and Bastard Heron, who were in the band when our warden was slain; and when our said warden entered England under trust to do justice as usual on our borders, these our subjects with their accomplices, chose to remain in your kingdom and become your confederates, and swear the contrary, to our very great dishonour, contrary to your oath, and to your great seal, under which seal you promised us not to keep any of your confederates who should offend us in your kingdom; and you keep the aforesaid personages, who have disloyally and falsely slain our said warden, and who have been finally declared disloyal men; and in your father's time it was ordered that you should replace them under our jurisdiction. And under colour of peace or truce you have caused more of our nobles to be put to death than your ancestors did in war, or (please God!) than you yourself will. And you caused our lieges to be seized by might, and had them put in prison, saying that they came to rob in your country. You have detained what your father had left by will to your sister for despite of us [*al dispetto nostro*]. You caused Andrew Bar. Andrea Beltram to be put to death, &c."—(omitted in H. p. 546).

"What you and your folks [*gente vostra*] have done you yourself know, and the Kings your neighbours can say whether you have obtained honour"—(omitted in Hall, p. 546).

"And said most Christian King, both to your father and to yourself, has been unto you kinder, &c. &c." (in Hall p. 546, no mention of Henry VII.) "than he ever was to us, as known to the whole world, and you choose to enrich yourself to his great detriment"—(omitted in Hall, p. 546).

"We certify you that we will never urge peace or truce, but aid said most Christian King with all our power, and by the grace of God shall prove to you that you will have to do with a prince of ancient descent [*uno principe antiquo*], who came neither yesterday nor to day, but is of true lineage; and so we send you Lion, our herald at arms, to declare to you our firm intention. We pray you, and again request and desire you, to abstain from the invasion and total destruction of our brother and cousin, the most Christian King; for we fully comprehend that you and your League are intent on this [war] against the most Christian King, with whom we are most intimately allied and related by blood, and have now renewed our said confederacy on account of the injuries which you and your Holy League purpose inflicting on said most Christian King; summoning our lieges and adherents for mutual defence, in the manner as you and your colleagues are bound for mutual invasion and actual war; this attack on a Christian people being a thing diabolical rather than divine; certifying you that we will forthwith take the part of our brother, &c. &c."—(omitted in Hall).

"And in like manner have you prevaricated and withheld justice from our lieges, and on this account we have given sealed letters in conformity with the friendship between you and us, of which hitherto you have taken small heed, notwithstanding your oath in the presence of our faithful counsellor the Bishop of Murray, as our present herald, the bearer, will tell you, should you please to listen to him and give him credence, &c. &c."—(omitted in Hall).

Note by Sanuto that "the present letter of defiance was to be presented to the King of England in his camp under Terouenne on the 4th August, and that it was read in the Senate on the 27th August."

[It is probable that the document was sent to Venice by the Venetian ambassador in France.]





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Note by Marin Sanuto that the foregoing intelligence was contained in a letter to Julian de' Medici from Leone di Leone, who, in date of August 14, added that on that day the King of France was to arrive at Amiens from Beauvais; and that the English had done nothing they expected, and were demoralized.

Ib. **280.** ——— of the GENERAL of LANGUEDOC to MONS. DE TERET, the French Ambassador.

Dated Amiens, August 6th.

The English were about to decamp, and there was no doubt but that the King of France would be victorious, as Terouenne held out, and was well garrisoned and provisioned. The man-at-arms, Lion herald, had been in the name of the King of Scots to the King of England to protest, &c.; the former was about to send 24 ships to aid France, and would attack England with 60,000 men. The Duke of Guelders was expected, and was on the march with 12,000 lansquenets. On his arrival the King of France would have 24,000 lansquenets, 10,000 Picard and Norman infantry, 10,000 other foot, 2,600 spears, and 10,000 Albanian horse for the artillery; so that victory was hoped for. There would either be a battle or an adjustment.

The Emperor had come into the English camp with 80 horse, and was negotiating with the King (of France) the marriage of Madame Genevre (*sic*) to his grandson. The King (of France) was going from Beauvais towards Terouenne.

Ib. **281.** MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Dated 14th August.

Succour had been put into Terouenne, 300 English being killed, and the King of France was 40 miles distant from thence. His infantry force was small, 10,000 men.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 3.

**282.** ANDREA BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the STATE.

Dated London, 16th June and 4th July.

Appointment of four regents of the kingdom, with one of whom, who was his friend, he had conversed. This friend complained that the Signory should have leagued with France, who was a promise-breaker, and descanted on the love borne the State by the King of England, who had crossed over to France for the destruction of the King of France. Remonstrances of the ambassador at having been left so long without pecuniary supply. He knows not how to maintain himself.

In his second letter, 4th July, acknowledges receipt of a bill of exchange for 600 ducats, and details other conversations with the ministry, and his apologies for the Signory's league with France, to the effect that Venice had been compelled thereto, for the recovery of her territory, the Emperor having declined all the numerous proposals made to him.

[*Italian.*]





1513.

Sept. 1.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 3.

283. ANTONIO BAVARIN, factor of the PESARO firm in London, to the PESARI in Venice.

Dated 2nd and 12th August 1513.

They will already have heard of the naval and military preparations made by the King. Although that "Dragon" \* had made a truce, he did not keep his promise like a worthy prince. Lately a number of lords with 30,000 men went across, and were then encamped under Terouenne, a very strong place, and well supplied, though Hell itself could not resist so powerful a force as that besieging.

On the preceding day the King crossed over to Calais with the rest. Estimates the English force in France at 50,000 men, who resembled giants. They would soon be joined by 10,000 Burgundians and Germans, forming a total of 60,000 paid soldiers, besides a host of adventurers, amounting in all to 80,000, fully appointed; including 8,000 heavy horse, and as many more light cavalry; 14,000 infantry archers, and 2,000 mounted bowmen; the rest halberdiers, with long pikes and iron maces fit to level not only men, but cities.

The King had with him 14 wagons loaded with money, two millions of gold and four wagons with silver coin;—facts which sound like tales of romance, but which are nevertheless true. The King has also other innumerable riches.

In his second letter of 12th August, writes that until then no vessel had been put on the berth for Venice, nor was it known whether any would be sent on that voyage, on account of the disputes between the State and Spain, and also of the misunderstanding with the Emperor which would interrupt the land communication. Is of opinion nevertheless that some goods would be sent by the Germans. Report in London that the Emperor had sent his ambassadors to the Pope to pray him again to attempt peace. It was high time peace were obtained, and people were convinced it would have been made, but for the Venetian agreement with France.† The King of England was under Terouenne with upwards of 60,000 combatants. The town was very considerable, beyond measure strong, and the key of Picardy. The English were bombarding it day and night, and, having levelled the walls, would soon make the assault. The place could not be saved, and after its surrender the French camp, consisting of 1,000 horse and 16,000 foot, at a distance of eight miles from Terouenne, would be attacked. These troops did not dare show themselves.

[Italian.]

Sept. 1.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 2.

284. ANONYMOUS CORRESPONDENT to DOMENEGO CONTARINI, under Verona.

Much gossip. The French had been routed by the English, and rejoicings were made.

[Italian.]

\* Ferdinand of Arragon?

† The treaty between France and Venice had been signed at Blois on the 23rd of March 1513. See *Commemoriale*, vol. xx. p. 4.

1513.

Sept. 1.

Santo Domingo.

v. xlv. p. 1.

282. ANTONIO BAYARIN, factor of the Pizarro firm in London.

to the Emperor in Venice.

Dated 2nd and 12th August 1513.

They will already have heard of the naval and military preparations made by the King. Although that "Dragon" has made a truce he did not keep his promise like a worthy knight. Lately a number of lords with 30,000 men went across, and were then besieged under Tormes, a very strong place, and well supplied, though Hell itself could not resist so powerful a force as that besieging.

On the preceding day the King crossed over to Calais with the rest. Estimates the English force in France at 50,000 men, who would soon be joined by 10,000 Burgundians and Germans, forming a total of 60,000 paid soldiers, besides a host of volunteers amounting to all to 80,000 fully equipped, including 8,000 heavy horse, and as many more light cavalry, 14,000 infantry archers, and 2,000 mounted bowmen; the rest consisted of peasants with long poles and iron maces fit to level not only men but cities.

The King had with him 14 wagons loaded with money, two millions of gold and four wagons with silver coin;—facts which sound like tales of romance, but which are nevertheless true. The King has also other innumerable riches.

In his second letter of 15th August writes that until then no vessel had been put on the berth for Venice, nor was it known whether any would be sent on that voyage on account of the disputes between the State and Spain, and also of the misunderstanding with the Emperor which would interrupt the land communication. It is of opinion nevertheless that some goods would be sent by the Germans. Report in London that the Emperor had sent his ambassadors to the Pope to pay him again to attempt peace. It was high time peace was obtained, and people were convinced it would have been made, but for the Venetian agreement with France. The King of England was under Tormes with upwards of 60,000 combatants. The town was very considerable beyond measure strong, and the key of Picardy. The English were besieging it day and night, and having levelled the walls would soon make the assault. The place could not be saved, and after its surrender the French camp consisting of 1,000 horse and 16,000 foot at a distance of eight miles from Tormes, would be attacked. These troops did not dare show themselves.

[Initials.]

284. ANTONIO BAYARIN, factor of the Pizarro firm in London.

under Venice.

March 1513. The French had been routed by the English, and

rejoicings were made.

[Initials.]

\* Fellowship of Arms.

† Treaty between France and Venice had been signed at Milan on the 24th of March 1513. See Compendium, vol. vi. p. 4.



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Sept. 3.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 8.

**285. AUDIENCE** given by the COLLEGE to Sir Thomas Newport and Sir Thomas Sheffield,\* knights of Rhodes, on their way to that island. Presentation by them of credentials and letters of recommendation from Henry VIII. Their presentation by the banker Antonio Capello, and by Troian Bollani. Seats assigned them beside Doge Loredane. Sir Thomas Newport had lent the ambassador Badoer 400 ducats, on a bill of exchange, payable in Venice. Both these knights met with a very cordial reception.

[Italian.]

Sept. 4.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 10.

**286. REPORT** by TROIAN BOLLANI of what he had elicited from Sir Thomas Newport and Sir Thomas Sheffield. Assurance given by them that the King of England was the Signory's friend, and that he took it amiss when the King of Spain made the truce with France, whom he had sworn to attack. They told many other long stories. Came through Germany on their way to Rhodes, and Sir Thomas Newport had to receive 1,700 (*sic*) ducats for moneys disbursed to the Venetian ambassador in England, for which he had bills of exchange on the Signory.

[Italian.]

Sept. 7.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 15.

**287. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR** in ROME to the STATE.

Dated 2nd September.

As no letters had been received there from France, the Anti-Gallicans said Terouenne had been taken by the English.

[Italian.]

Sept. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 16,  
17.

**288. MARCO DANDOLO**, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Letters in cipher (deciphered), the last dated Amiens, 24th August, and delivered in Venice at the vesper hour on the 8th September, by the courier, Fieravante.

On the 23rd August† Terouenne surrendered to the King of England. Property and persons to be respected. Within were 200 French spears, and 3,000 infantry, which troops had joined the camp of the King of France at a place called —, six miles from the enemy. The French numbered 3,000 spears and 30,000 infantry. The Duke of Guelders, who was expected with 10,000 foot, and 1,500 horse, has not yet arrived.

Note by Marin Sanuto, that he spoke with the above-mentioned courier Lodovico Fieravante, the man who killed his father in the church of the "Frari," on Good Friday, A.D. —. That going and returning he had performed the journey to France eight times. He said that Terouenne was taken on the 23rd, because there were no more provisions. The garrison had even eaten their horses.

\* In the Diaries, the name of Sheffield is omitted, but I am enabled to supply the blank from Mr. Brewer's Calendar, v. i. p. 700, no. 4562, where it is also seen that Sir Thomas Newport was Bailiff of Eyele, a commandery, 7 miles from Lincoln.

† By Mr. Brewer's Calendar (p. 659, no. 4410), it is seen that the surrender took place on the 22nd August.





1513.

Property and persons were respected, and according to report at Amiens, from which place Fieravante took his departure, the garrison had reached the French camp. The English numbered in all 80,000 men. The King (of England) was not in the camp, where the Emperor had arrived. The English had from 8,000 to 9,000 horse, and 13,000 lansquenets; they had captured the French men-at-arms on their way to succour Terouenne, namely the Marquis de Rothelin, *alias* Monsr. de Longueville; \* Monsr. de la Fayette, Monsr. de Clermont, and the Captain Bayard. Monsr. de la Palisse was also taken, but made his escape, killing two English archers who had him in charge, and reached the French camp.

On the arrival of the prisoners, the King of England gave them good greeting, and clad Mons. de Rothelin in a gown of cloth of gold. On going to table he caused him to be served with water for his hands, and to dine with him. The Marquis said, "Sire, I will not." The King rejoined, "You are my prisoner, and must do so." The King displayed great graciousness. Should there be any French prisoner of condition, and the ransom required of him amount to 4,000 ducats, the King reduces it to 2,000, saying to the captor, "I'll pay the rest." When a foot soldier is taken with 20 ducats in his purse that sum suffices, and the King has him stripped and set at liberty: so that he treats all well. When the Scotch herald, on behalf of the King's brother-in-law, came to proclaim war, telling the King to beware what he was doing, the King made answer that he had well pondered everything before commencing this expedition, and meant to besiege Boulogne.

The Lady Margaret had come to the English camp, and was negotiating the marriage of her nephew, the Archduke of Burgundy, with the sister of the King of England.

The French forces, on the other hand, were commanded by the Dauphin of France, Monsr. d'Angoulême. They amounted to 28,000 (*sic*) horse in all, including men-at-arms, light horse, artillery horses, and adventurers following the camp.

The King (of France) in person was at Amiens, 60 miles from Terouenne, and remained on the defensive without giving battle to the English.

In Burgundy, towards Dijon, the Switzers had made an attack, which was met by Monsr. de la Trimouille, who had retreated into that city, which he was fortifying with 400 spears and 3,000 infantry, and meant to wait and see what the Switzers would do.

In the French camp they were expecting 6,000 Scots, who had embarked on board the Scotch fleet, which was to join the French fleet of 34 sail in Normandy.

Did not know the amount of the Scotch fleet. The Scots had entered England, doing great damage everywhere, in very great number, upwards of 80,000 picked men; others wanted to go, but their King would not have them all.

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\* The titles of the Duke de Longueville were Marquis of Rothelin and Comte de Dunois. In the *Archæologia*, xxvi, 475, he is made to represent THREE distinct individuals! See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, v. i. p. 664, no. 4431.

1513

Property and persons were respected and according to report Anders from which place Fierstein took his departure, the garrison had reached the French camp. The English consisted in all 8,000 men. The King (of England) was not in the camp where the Emperor had arrived. The English had from 8,000 to 9,000 men and 12,000 horses; they had captured the French arms on their way to another French camp, namely the Marston. Hobelin, alias Monse de Longueville, Monse de la Fayette, Monse de Clermont, and the Captain Bayard. Monse de la Fayette was also taken, but made his escape, killing two English soldiers who had him in charge, and reached the French camp.

On the arrival of the prisoners, the King of England gave them good greeting, and said Monse de Hobelin is a governor of such gold. On going to table he caused him to be served with wine for his hands and to dine with him. The Marston said, "Sir, will not?" The King rejoined, "You are my prisoner, and must so." The King displayed great graciousness. Should there be a French prisoner of condition, and the ransom required of him amount to 4,000 ducats, the King reduces it to 2,000, saying to the captive, "I'll pay the rest." When a foot soldier is taken with 30 ducats in his purse that sum suffices and the King has him stripped and set at liberty: so that he treats all well. When a Scotch battle, on behalf of the King's brother-in-law, came to pass, war, telling the King to beware what he was doing, the King answered that he had well pondered everything before commencing this expedition, and meant to besiege Boulogne.

The lady Marguerite had come to the English camp, and negotiating the marriage of her nephew, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the sister of the King of England. The French forces on the other hand, were commanded by the Dauphin of France, Monse d'Angoulême. They amounted to 28,000 (sic) horse in all, including men-at-arms, light horse, artillery horses, and adventures following the camp.

The King (of France) in person was at Amiens, 60 miles from Tournay, and remained on the defensive without giving battle to the English.

In Burgundy, towards Dijon, the Swiss had made an attack which was met by Monse de la Trimouille, who had collected in that city, which he was fortifying with 400 guns and 2,000 infantry, and meant to wait and see what the Swiss would do.

In the French camp they were expecting 8,000 Scots, who had embarked on board the Scotch fleet, which was to join the French fleet of 34 sail in Normandy.

They did not know the designs of the Scotch fleet. The Scots had entered England, doing great damage everywhere, in very great number, upwards of 50,000 picked men; others wanted to go, but their King would not have them all.

\* The Duke of the Duke de Longueville was Monse de Hobelin and Monse de la Fayette. In the Anglo-Saxon text it is made to represent rather different persons. See the French text, p. 1513.



1513.

On arriving at Lyons on the 28th [August], he found there Gian Giacomo Triulzi, who had come from Ors (*sic*; Tours?)\* on his way into Burgundy against the Switzers. He (Fieravante) consigned letters to him from the King, desiring him not to go, and to return to Ors.

He (Fieravante) went incognito to Milan, where rejoicings and bonfires for the rout of the French were making by the English; and he came on from thence to Venice, through Tuscany.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 15, 16.

**289. SIR THOMAS NEWPORT and SIR THOMAS SHEFFIELD.**

Day of the Virgin's Nativity. Attendance at mass in St. Mark's Church of the Doge and ambassadors, namely, those of the Pope and Hungary, the two English knights of Rhodes,† an envoy from the Rhodians, a knight, who took precedence of them, the secretary of the Duke of Ferrara, and last of all the Switzer, Dom. — Soprasaxo.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 20.

**290. ROBERTO ACCIAIUOLO, Florentine Ambassador in France, to the GOVERNMENT of FLORENCE.**

Since his last of the 5th [August] nothing worthy of notice has occurred, save the arrival in the camp of the King of England, who is now at St. Omer, with a reinforcement of 10,000 foot. He has redoubled the bombardment, and threatened repeatedly to make the assault, but has never attempted it. The garrison relies on not being stormed, and appears well inclined to hold out to the last. At present, owing to the appearance in the camp of the King of England, the King of France is hastening his preparations; and to be nearer at hand, and to put his troops in order (of which they have need), he is going to Amiens, and, should he not change his mind, will proceed thence to the camp, with the intention, should the Duke [of Guelders] come, of then trying his luck. The Duke, if he come, will bring 500 German horse and 10,000 foot, forming a total (including those already mustered by the King), of 25,000 infantry. They have raised a great number of pioneers, who receive a monthly stipend of 100 French sous (*soldi*). It is supposed that the monthly expenditure of France amounts to 400,000 francs, and that of England, including the fleet, to 600,000. To the King of Scots a payment of 50,000 francs has been made for the cost of provisions and ammunition, as he asked for nothing else.

The Emperor is understood to have reached Brussels, on his way to Flanders, and does his utmost to intimidate, but has not yet moved one single horse, and the King of France told him (Acciaiuolo) that he would rather the Emperor should make an attack in this direction than in Burgundy.‡ 10th August.

[*Signed* :] Robertus Acciariolus, orator.

[*Italian.*]

\* In the original "da Ors" (from Tours?)

† This extract proves that Sir Thomas Newport and his colleague were formally acknowledged as the ambassadors of Henry VIII.

‡ In the original: "Et il Re mi ha ditto che ha più carche si se noprà da questa banda, che se havesse mosso in Borgogna."





1513.

Sept. 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 20, 21.

**291. ROBERTO ACCIAIUOLO, Florentine Ambassador in France, to the GOVERNMENT of FLORENCE.**

Intelligence was received from the camp yestereven that some 1,500 French spears had approached Terouenne in a quarter where the blockade was more open. 3,000 English foot, who disputed their passage, lost many men from the cannon of the besieged, and at length being unable to prevent it, Captain Fonterailles, by means of certain cross-bulwarks (*traverse di ripari*) and ditches made by the besieged, went with the succour to the gate, entered the town, spoke to them at his leisure, saw all their defences, and left with them 80 dismounted men-at-arms, according to their request, as they said they wanted nothing more. He then quitted the town, and returned in safety to the place from whence he came.

Fonterailles stated that such provision had been made by the besieged, that they relied on holding out until the day of the Virgin's nativity, in September. If this be true, French affairs will take a good turn, as ere then the King of France will be in sufficient force to succour the place; but even if the place were lost, the winter would be so near at hand, that it would be impossible for the English to lay siege to any other town in those parts. This morning the King departed for Amiens, where he will arrive in three days; and it seems probable that his affairs will improve, for in every encounter, either in forays or engagements, between the French and English, the latter have got the worst, which result gives the former more courage daily. From Biclives (*sic*), 11 August, 1513.

[Signed:] Idem Robertus.

[Italian, 30 lines.]

Sept. 8.

**292. The SAME to the SAME.**

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 21,  
22.

Had detained the present copy until the 13th. Was told on that morning by the King that the Emperor had been in the English camp, where he conferred with the King of England, and went back towards Flanders.

Had been told by another friend that a marriage was being negotiated by the Emperor and the King of England, who was to give his own sister, now affianced to the Archduke, to the Emperor. Time would show whether this would take place or not; but anything might be credited about "the friend" where money circulated.

On that morning the Scotch herald who took the letter of defiance into the English camp, returned. Does not write the reply, the herald having as yet divulged nothing, not having spoken to the King (of France). If in time, will write the reply by the present courier; if not, by the next.

[Italian, 15 lines.]

Sept. 9.

**293. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.**

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 23,  
24.

Dated 6th September.

Announces receipt there of letters from Amiens, dated 26th August, and from Lyons, the 29th, concerning the loss of Terouenne; persons and property to be respected. The place had surrendered from lack of provisions.





1513.

There was also a letter dated in the English camp from the Emperor to the Duke of Milan, who sent it to the Pope. Announces a great rout of——French spears by the English, many captains and soldiers being captured, as by the following list, though the French ambassadors in Rome said the defeat was not so great.

**294. LIST of FRENCHMEN captured and killed by the ENGLISH.**

**Prisoners :**

The Duke of Longueville, captain of 100 spears, bearing also the title of Marquis de Rothelin, owing to the death of his brother.

Gentlemen of the King: The Steward of the Household of the Duke of Longueville, and 20 of his gentlemen.

Mons. de Clermont, Viceadmiral, and lieutenant of the company of Mons. d'Angoulême.

The Standard-bearer of Mons. d'Angoulême.

Mons. d'Imbrecourt, captain of 100 spears.

Mons. de la Fayette, lieutenant of Mons. d'Alençon.

The Captain Bayard.

The Standard-bearer of Robert Tramiseles (*sic*).

The Standard-bearer of the Master of the Horse, Galeazzo di San Severino.

Companions: Erard and a trumpet.

**Killed :**

The Baron de Bearn; Mons. de Bussi; the Bastard; Mons. de Pienes, as reported. Mons. de la Palise gave "pike bail" to Jaques de Chines.

**Colours taken :**

Of Mons. d'Alençon; of Mons. d'Angoulême; of the Master of the Horse; of d'Armagnac; of Robert de Tramixeles (*sic*); of Bussy; of Robert de la Mark, besides some others whose masters had not been found.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 9.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 23, 24.

**295. VETTOR LIPPOMANO to his brother HIRONIMO, in Venice.**

Dated Rome, 6th Sept.

On Monday the 5th went into the Castle [of St. Angelo] to the Pope, with the Cardinals of Ferrara and S. Vitale, the Sigr. Fabritio Colonna, the Sigr. Alberto da Carpi, and other lords. Da Carpi read the Pope a letter from the English camp, dated the 24th [August], written by the Emperor to the Duke of Milan, about the rout of the French when they sought to put succour into Terouenne; sending him a list of the French who were killed and captured, and the number of standards. Terouenne wanted to surrender, persons and property being respected, but these terms were rejected. The Marquis de la Paluda was also present [at this reading], so [the Pope] said that he would act, but that the Signory must no longer hope for assistance from France; whereupon he [Lippomano] rejoined, that the State would call the Turks to her aid, which made all laugh heartily; and he wished himself away. The conversation lasted upwards of an hour. In the list of losses Mons. de la Palisse was said to have been captured. 30,000 Switzers had entered France, and were on their march to Paris, so that they would expel the King of France, though the French ambassador at Rome did not represent the affair as being so disas-

There was also a letter dated in the English camp from the Emperor to the Duke of Milan, who sent it to the Pope. Announcing a great rout of the French, he said that the English, many knights and soldiers being captured, as by the following list, though the French ambassadors in Rome said the defeat was not so great.

### 234. List of Frenchmen captured and killed by the Romans:

The Duke of Longueville, captain of 100 spears, bearing also the title of Marquis de Hochelle, owing to the death of his brother, Gentleman of the King; The Steward of the Household of the Duke of Longueville, and 30 of his gentlemen.  
Mons. de Clermont, Vice-chamberlain, and lieutenant of the company of Mons. d'Angoulême.  
The Standard-bearer of Mons. d'Angoulême.  
Mons. d'Alençon, captain of 100 spears.  
Mons. de la Fayette, lieutenant of Mons. d'Alençon.  
The Captain Bayard.  
The Standard-bearer of Robert Tarnish (sic).  
The Standard-bearer of the Master of the Horse, Gaston de Baz.  
Seven.

Companions: Extra and a trumpet.

Killed:

The Baron de Bessy; Mons. de Bessy; the Bastard; Mons. de Pigner, as reported. Mons. de la Fayette gave "pique nail" to Jacques de Chines.

Colonels taken:

Of Mons. d'Alençon; of Mons. d'Angoulême; of the Master of the Horse; of d'Amboise; of Robert de Tarnish (sic); of Bussy; of Robert de la Mark, besides some others whose masters had not been found.

[Italian].

### 235. Victor Lirionano to his brother Hieronimo, in Venice.

Dated Rome 6th Sept.

On Monday the 5th went into the Castle for St. Angelo to the Pope, with the Cardinals of Ferrara and S. Vitale the Signor Radice Colonna, the Signor Alberto de Cury, and other lords. De Cury read the Pope's letter from the English camp, dated the 24th [August], written by the Emperor to the Duke of Milan, about the rout of the French when they sought to put success into Tournay; sending him a list of the French who were killed and captured, and the number of standards. Tournay wanted to surrender, persons and property being respected, but these terms were rejected. The Marquis de la Fayette was also present [at this reading] so [the Pope] said that he would act, but that the Signor must no longer hope for assistance from France; whereupon he [Lirionano] rejoined that the State would call the Turks to her aid, which made all laugh heartily; and he wished himself away. The conversation lasted upwards of an hour. In the list of losses Mons. de la Fayette was said to have been captured. 30000 Switzer had entered France, and were on their march to Paris, so that they would expect the King of France though the French ambassador at Rome did not represent the affair as being so disastrous.

Sept. 8.  
Rome. Dated  
xviii. 9. 1513.



1513.

trous. Had been to visit "the Magnifico," [Julian de' Medici],\* letters from Florence, in date of Amiens the 25th, about the loss of who showed him Terouenne.

A marriage was in course of negotiation between the sister of the King of England and the Archduke of Burgundy, but the Archduke will not take her; says he wants a wife and not a mother.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 30.

296. The VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in SPAIN, ZUAN BADOER, Doctor and Knight, to the STATE.

Dated Valladolid, 18th August; in cipher, deciphered.

Details conversations held with the King (of Arragon) at mass, and afterwards alone; he said that the Signory ought to make terms with the Emperor, and renounce Verona. The King is doubtful as to the result of matters between France and England, and suspects the English will not be victorious. The King had removed two of his natural daughters from an Observantine convent, meaning to give them in marriage, although they were content to remain as they were. The Queen [Germaine de Foix] was indisposed, after the fashion of young women married to old husbands. He is sending Don Alfonso, son of the Archbishop of Valencia, his relation, into Italy as the Viceroy's coadjutor. He had prevented the Duke of Alva from going on a pilgrimage to St. James of Galicia [Compostella]. The English ambassador, then on the eve of departure, had come to take leave of him (Badoer), speaking very blandly. The King's chaplain who went to negotiate the agreement with France, was returned, and had betaken himself to an Hieronomite monastery to escape the fatigue of business. An individual who had letters of reprisal against the Venetians, was fitting out barks to attack them in the Gulf, so the Signory should make provision.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 30.

297. MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

16 Letters, dated Amiens, from the 29th July to the 25th August, Account of events from day to day. Provision made for the succour of Terouenne. On the 16th August 1,000 men-at-arms went with that purpose with Mons. de Longueville Marquis de Rothelin, and other commanders, including Mons. de la Palisse; they were met by the men-at-arms of the King of England with the King in person, the King of the Romans being with the infantry. A battle took place, in which De Longueville was captured, and the Bastard and other commanders killed. Mons. de Palisse was taken, but freed himself and made his escape. No more than 40 men-at-arms or horses were missing; a few got into Terouenne. The King of France) was well disposed towards the Signory, and sent two letters. He was at Amiens with the gout, the commander-in-chief of his army being Mons. d'Angoulême, the Dauphin, and wellnigh all the

\* The name is not given in the original, but at Rome, in September 1513, "the" Magnifico, was Giuliano de Medici, and after the 23rd of the month (when his election as Cardinal took place) Giulio de Medici was "the" Cardinal; the one being the brother of Leo X., the other his cousin.





1513.

chiefs and those of the blood royal were in the camp. He had 2,500 spears and 30,000 infantry. The Duke of Guelders had not yet arrived; he was to come with 10,000 foot and 1,500 horse. In date of the 23rd, announces the loss of Terouenne, and the King's intention of taking his army to Armaruol (*sic*), a strong position on account of a river. He does not intend to give battle to the English, who numbered 80,000 foot and some 8,000 horse. 6,000 Scots were expected in the French camp, who had been embarked on board the Scotch fleet of 22 sail, which was coming to assist the French; they were to land in Picardy, at Honfleur,\* or in Normandy. Details also what took place with the Scotch herald [Lyon],† who went to the King of England to declare war. The King of Scots was to attack England on the 22nd, and to raise an army; he had disposed of all the plate and gold chains, so that he ate off pewter.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 10.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 33, 34.

298. REPORT made to the College by TROIAN BOLLANI on the 5th September 1513, of his conversation with the English knights of Rhodes, Sir Thomas Newport and Sir Thomas Sheffield. Read in the Senate on the 10th September. Note by Sanuto that it was read after all the letters, and when the house (*la briga*) was very tired.

The knights said that no king in the world could have endured such a war [as that of the League of Cambrai] without yielding. They commended the Signory,‡ saying the sovereigns (*sic*) of Spain were the cause of all mischief, and that King Ferdinand never should have taken Brescia; that King Ferdinand dealt doubly, and had played their King several tricks, but two above all. First, when the 10,000 English were sent to Guienne for its seizure, he failed to march his army as promised; but having by means of the English obtained the kingdom of Navarre, the French being unable to succour it, as they were on the other side the Pyrenees, he then took no further trouble. Secondly, he made truce with France without the knowledge either of the King of England or of the whole island (*insciente el Re de Inglaterra ma a tuta l'isola*), and sent word to the King of England not to invade France this year. The latter replied that he would cross despite them all, and meant to see who would hinder him.

At the English court the Emperor was considered fickle, and although he was sending 15,000 men towards Lorraine, they met certain persons on the road, who told them they were [already] under command (*sic*).

Notwithstanding this, should the King of France come to good terms, the King of England would make peace. On being asked the conditions of such agreement, they said, "some good tribute;" also that their King derived much profit from peace, whereas war gave him only renown. That in times of tranquillity he levied his duties, the kingdom being frequented by the galleys, which yielded considerable revenue.

\* Honfleur, in Lower Normandy.

† See Hall, p. 545, and Mr. Brewer's Cal.v. i. p. 641. no. 4351.

‡ Alluding to the war of the League of Cambrai

chiefs and those of the blood royal were in the camp. He had 2,500 spears and 30,000 infantry. The Duke of Guelders had not yet arrived; he was to come with 10,000 foot and 1,500 horse. In date of the 23rd, announces the loss of Tournai, and the King's intention of taking his army to Arras (sic) a strong position on account of a river. He does not intend to give battle to the English, who numbered 80,000 foot and some 8,000 horse. 6,000 Scots were expected in the French camp, who had been embarked on board the Scotch fleet of 22 sail, which was coming to assist the French; they were to land in Picardy, at Honfleur, or in Normandy. Details also what took place with the Scotch herald [Lyon], who went to the King of England to declare war. The King of Scots was to attack England on the 22nd, and to raise an army; he had disposed of all the plate and gold chains, so that he ate off pewter.

[Italian.]

308. Harport made to the College by TROIAN BOLLART on the 25th September 1513, of his conversation with the English knight of Rhodoy Sir Thomas Newport and Sir Thomas Scheld. Head in the Senate on the 10th September. Note by Samto that it was read after all the letters, and when the house (in brief) was very tired.

The knights said that no king in the world could have endured such a war [as that of the League of Cambray] without yielding. They commended the Signory, saying the sovereigns (sic) of Spain were the cause of all mischief, and that King Ferdinand never should have taken Brescia; that King Ferdinand dealt hardly, and had played their King several tricks, but two above all. First, when the 10,000 English were sent to Orleans for its seizure, he failed to march his army as promised; but having by means of the English obtained the kingdom of Navarre, the French being unable to recover it as they were on the other side the Pyrenees, he then took no further trouble. Secondly, he made truce with France without the knowledge either of the King of England or of the whole island (insects) of the Jacobins, and a truce (sic) and sent word to the King of England not to invade France this year. The latter replied that he would cross despite them all, and meant to see who would hinder him.

At the English court the Emperor was considered foolish, and although he was sending 15,000 men towards Lorraine, they met certain persons on the road, who told them they were [fools] under command (sic).

Notwithstanding, this should the King of France come to good terms, the King of England would make peace. On being asked the conditions of such agreement, they said, "some good tribute;" also that their King derived much profit from peace, whereas war gave him only sorrow. That in times of tranquillity he feared his duties the kingdom being frequented by the Galley, which yielded considerable revenue.

Sept. 10.  
Samto Diaries.  
v. xvii. pp. 22, 23.



1512.

Enquired, moreover, on what terms the King of England was with the Duke of Burgundy.

They said the Flemings were averse to war with France, because the Archduke was young; but as the King of England had sent 6,000 men against the Duke of Guelders, without which aid the whole of Flanders and Brabant would have been laid waste and plundered, the Lady Margaret had supplied the English with helmets and wagons.

A marriage was being negotiated between the Archduke and a sister of the King of England, and would take place.

[*Italian*, 51 lines.]

Sept. 11.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 36.

299. BORTOLOMEO CONTARINI, Captain of Cremona, to the STATE.

Dated 7th September.

Announces great rejoicings at Milan for the capture of Terouenne.

[*Italian*.]

Sept. 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 36.

300. REPORT derived from the German factory of the defeat by the English of the French.

[*Italian*.]

Sept. 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 36, 37.

301. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.

Dated 9th September.

On the preceding day had been with the Pope at the Belveder for three hours. In discussing the agreement between the Signory and the Emperor the Pope said, "Ambassador! we perceive that you will not cede Verona, and that the Emperor will not give you the place. How can this dispute be arranged? What would you do with France? In her you must not place hope; she has too much on hand with the King of England."

The Pope then showed him statements received from the Cardinal of England relative to the great power of the King, who intended to go to Rheims, to be crowned King of France. For the great expedition he had obtained 600,000*l.* (*sic*), equal to 300,000 ducats (*sic*), besides 10,000 (*sic*) golden ducats left him by his father.

Sends the list of Frenchmen killed and captured by the English. The English ambassador said to him, "Lord ambassador! my King wrote a letter to the Signory many days ago, and has received no answer; yet it would be well to write to him, especially as the Emperor is there."

#### ADDITION IN THE LETTERS OF VETOR LIPPOMANO.

On the 7th the Cardinal of Sorrento, the Cardinal of England, the Lord Albert of Carpi, the Spanish ambassador, and the ambassador of Milan remained with the Pope in the afternoon until the twenty-third hour, and were supposed to be concluding some league together.

According to advices from France it was said the King (of France) could not find troops to garrison the fortresses. Also,





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that as the Emperor's grandson, the Archduke, would not marry the sister of the King of England, who was 24 years old, the Emperor meant to take her for himself.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 12.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.,  
v. xxxvi. p. 24.

**302.** The COUNCIL OF TEN to the Ambassador DANDOLO, in France.

The day before yesterday received his letters, announcing the loss of Terouenne, and the rout of the troops of the most Christian King.

As the advices from Rome were much more sinister, his letters greatly relieved them, especially as they learn that the King of Scots was about to attack England with a very powerful host, and also that the Duke of Guelders was expected shortly; both which events will singularly benefit the most Christian King, and serve as a diversion.

[*Italian, 69 lines.*]

Sept. 13.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 41.

**303.** INTELLIGENCE contained in LETTERS from ROME.

Dated 9th September.

Letters from the Florentine ambassador [Roberto Acciaiuolo], dated Amiens, 26th August, confirming the rout of the French, the loss of many standards, the capture of many captains, barons, and gentlemen, and the death of many others; and announcing the taking of Terouenne some ten days afterwards; the safety of persons and all their property and horses being guaranteed.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 13.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Segreta,  
v. xlvi. p. 6.

**304.** The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

Commend his reply to the Cardinal of York, to whom desire him to return most ample thanks, requesting that, well acquainted as the Cardinal is with the sincerity of the Signory's proceedings, and the injuries inflicted on her, he will justify her conduct to his King, and induce him to favour her cause, and, as he is now with the Emperor, bring about the peace between the latter and the Signory, who on their part will never swerve from what is fair. Beseech the Cardinal to continue his good offices.

[*Italian, 35 lines.*]

**305.** PROPOSED LETTER from DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to HENRY VIII.

Lately received his Majesty's letters, presented by the knights of Rhodes, Sir Thomas Newport and Sir John Sheffield. Received them graciously, and promised them every facility for their passage to Rhodes. Said much to them about the Signory's desire for peace between the powers of Christendom, especially for the repression of the power of the enemies of the Christian faith.

They have omitted nothing which could tend towards concord and peace between the Emperor and the Republic, offering the most





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honourable terms, which were rejected. On this account the forces destined for their defence had been turned against them.

Assures the King that the State will always persevere in its extreme and ancient good will towards him.

Ayes, 89, 87.

AMENDMENT, approving both the letters addressed to the ambassador at the papal court, with the exception of the paragraph charging him to consign the enclosure for the King of England to the Cardinal of York.\* The above-written letter to the King of England to be delayed until the receipt of surer information from the ambassador Dandolo resident with the King of France.

Ayes, 86 99

Noes, 5 —

Neutrals, 1 —

[*Latin, 27 lines.*]

Sept. 16.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 47.

### 306. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME to the STATE.

Dated, 12 September.

Transmits copies of letters received there by the French ambassadors.

Monsieur de Turnor, Governor of Lyons, writes to the French ambassador, in date of Lyons, 7th September, that he and Monsieur de Luçon had received letters from the court, announcing the arrival of an express, informing the King that the King of Scots had gained a battle against the Viceroy of England, who had been captured with 15 of the chief English lords. This intelligence had rejoiced the King and the whole court.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 47.

### 307. MONS. DE LUÇON to the FRENCH AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Certain news have reached the King of the battle between the King of Scots and the Viceroy of England, whose army of 30,000 men had been routed, and the most part killed, few escaping capture or death. The Viceroy had been taken prisoner with 15 of the chief lords; and this was true as gospel.

Lyons, 7 September 1513.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 48.

### 308. GOVERNMENT of FLORENCE to PIETRO BIBIENA, Papal Ambassador at VENICE.

On the 16th August the French, thinking to succour Terouenne, as they did the first time by means of Captain Fonterailles, tried the same road with some 1,800 spears; but warned by the former attempt, the English were on the watch, and prevented the entry of the new comers, whom they attacked on their way back to the camp. The French, being mounted on mules and small horses, thought themselves in safety, but were at length routed, some captains with their colours being captured, including the Marquis de Rothelin, of the blood royal and chief of the King's gentlemen,

\* In neither of the official transcripts of the two letters above-mentioned has the scribe copied the paragraph concerning the consignment to Bainbridge of the missive for the King of England.





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Monsr. de Bussi, Monsr. de Bayard, and La Fayette, commanders of great quality and revenue; the killed and prisoners were reckoned in number 120 men-at-arms, though some rated the loss at a good 400. At any rate it was a very notable feat, and vastly to the detriment of the French; and had the English followed up the victory, they would on that day have caused disastrous consequences to the French, but hoping in the flush of such a victory to take Terouenne by agreement, they ceased pursuing the enemy, and presenting themselves under the place, announced the rout and the capture of the commanders, exhibiting the prisoners and the colours taken, and expecting the town to surrender at once, though it in fact held out until the 22nd or 23rd, when first the Germans within, and then the French, commenced parleying with English in the camp, and moved by the lack of provisions more than by any other cause, at length surrendered after a respite of two days, which having expired on the 24th, the garrison on the following morning, the 25th, marched out of the town, and the English entered. On the 26th, the French had reached the camp, their persons and horses being respected.

Monsr. de la Palisse had been let go on parole (*era intrapreso*)\* on that same evening. As yet, no one knew how the French meant to carry on the war.

The French were busy provisioning the neighbouring towns in every direction, especially Abbeville, Peronne, and Amiens, at which last place the King of France was in person. The banks of the Somme were also being fortified, to prevent the passage of the English. The French mainly relied on these fortifications, and also on the approach of winter, the cold there not allowing troops to keep the field. Moreover there were two other circumstances of no small moment in their favour,—the coming of the Duke of Guelders, who was expected in a few days with 10,000 lansquenets and several hundred horse (some of his company being already at Liège); and secondly the diversion of Scotland, whose King, it was understood, had already invaded England.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 16.

Sforza Archives,  
Milan.

309. HENRY VIII. to MAXIMILIAN SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN.

Acknowledges the receipt of his affectionate letters, and of a similar announcement through his secretary, as confirmed by the Emperor, who evinced paternal goodwill toward the Duke. Compliments him on his endowments, which have been notified by the Emperor to him (the King). Ranks the Duke therefore amongst his especial friends, and, thinking that he will rejoice at his successes, informs him that since his entry into France he has been always victorious over the common enemies, many of whom he has made prisoners. Has taken their extremely well fortified city of Terouenne, whence he marched to Tournai, arriving there on the 15th September. Battered the town, and granted a suspension of hostilities for two days for the negotiation of a sur-

\* Query "let go on parole," see Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 675, no. 4464.







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render. England has been attacked by the King of Scots, who took part with France, unmindful of ties of blood and of a formal treaty. He sent 10,000 Scots into England, all of whom were killed or captured by a force not exceeding 1,000 men. Thereupon the King of Scots in person, with an immense army, invaded England, and at the outset took a little old town that was almost tumbling down of itself and unfortified, and almost deserted, belonging to the Bishop of Durham. The King then advanced some four miles within the English Borders, where on the 8th of August he was met by the Earl of Surrey, who had been deputed to coerce the Scots. The fight was long and sharply contested on both sides, but at length the Almighty, avenging the broken treaty, gave victory to the English, who killed a great number of the enemy, including many of their nobles, put the rest to flight, captured all their cannon, and plundered the whole camp.

No Englishmen of note have perished, but of the fate of the King of Scots himself no certain intelligence has been hitherto received; the Earl of Surrey, when tired after the battle, having written this much in haste to the Queen, promising to transmit more exact details speedily. The Earl of Surrey's first letters were forwarded by the Queen to Tournai, and as yet no further particulars have reached the King, who, however, on their arrival will take care to have them imparted to the Duke.

Offers himself as a sincere friend to the Duke, and wishes to know his position and what he is doing against their aforesaid common foes, expecting gladsome tidings.

[*Signed:*] Henricus. From our own camp at Tournai, 16 September 1513

[*Countersigned:*] And. Ammonius.

P.S.—After writing the foregoing, has received sure intelligence that the King of Scots himself perished in the battle, his body having been found and recognized, and taken to the nearest church.

He thus paid a heavier penalty for his perfidy than we would have wished.

[*Original, Latin.*]

Sept 16.  
Sforza Archives,  
Milan.

### 310. SUMMARY of LETTERS from PAULO DA LODI.

Dated Lisle, 16th September.

Had visited my Lady [Margaret] in the name of the Duke of Milan, and after due congratulations on the victories obtained by the Emperor and the King of England, returned thanks for the good offices performed by her with them in favour of the Duke. She replied gaily that it was true she had used her good offices for the Duke with their Majesties, and would not fail doing so for the future, to maintain his Excellency in his duchy; and she urged him (Paulo) to write to the Duke not to fear the enemy, but to be of good cheer, as the Emperor and the King of England would not fail to destroy his enemies or humble them, so as to make them do as desired; or a general peace would be stipulated, and an attack be then made upon the Infidels. Some apprehended the malice of the Bishop of Marseilles, who is at Rome. Speaking of the Switzers,





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my Lady praised them to the utmost, and said that their good disposition and valour was manifested by their proceedings against France.

It is true that on the 9th of September the Earl of Surrey, the great captain of the English army, attacked the Scotch camp, in number 50,000, ill armed ; and they fought a long while. At length the Scots were routed, and the King of Scots could not be found, either dead or alive. The Scots have lost all their artillery and baggage, and the rest of the Scottish camp returned to Scotland. The English were to pursue them to burn their country. For certain upwards of 18,000 Scots were killed, including many noblemen and captains of repute ; and the loss of the English was small.

The city of Tournai offered to pay a considerable sum. Some said 200,000 ducats ready money, and 20,000 ducats a year to the Emperor, besides a tribute to the King, provided they be allowed to remain as they are ; but these terms were rejected, and the artillery was battering the place. The city is very populous, wealthy, and strong, but has no men-at-arms at all within, so it was hoped for certain to obtain the place shortly.

It was said that the King of England was to give the Emperor the third instalment of pay, amounting to 35,000 ducats.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 18.  
Sforza Archives,  
Milan.

### 311. SUMMARY of LETTERS from PAULO DA LODI.

Dated the 18th.

Again confirms the rout of the Scots ; and adds that on that day the King of England went with ——— to Lisle, and having found Mons. de Berghes at his lodging, was accompanied by him to my Lady, with whom he remained dancing, playing, and drawing the bow ; and then he returned to the camp with only about 25 horsemen, running and playing with his attendants.

The Emperor desired his forces to encamp under the walls of Tournai, and to place the "Twelve Apostles" [twelve guns of the battering train] in position to batter the town incessantly, and to make the trenches for the heavy artillery, for which he had sent to Mechlin, and expected it in two days. At any rate it was apparently meant to batter the place from three points. The Emperor was also sending for very many mortars to throw bombs into the town and frighten the population. The town was divided into two factions : the nobility were inclined to surrender, and the people not ; and the latter, being the strongest, had assumed the government ; but a speedy surrender was considered certain.

The French, to draw off the Emperor, circulated a report of going to Cambrai, an imperial place ; but it was provided for, being under the protection of the Prince [Charles of Castile], and recommended to him ; and were they to go there, the truce between Spain and France would be broken.

Has heard from a good quarter that, even should the winter season compel the King of England to cross the Channel, he would leave the Emperor 18,000 foot and 6,000 horse, with which to follow up the undertaking until his (the King's) return in the spring ; and the Emperor was to rest content and in good spirits ; but there was,







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nevertheless, no certainty about the King of England's departure. Should he go, he will first take Tournai and Garra (*sic*).

On the expiration of the truce it is hoped that the King of Spain will attack France.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 19.

Sforza Archives,  
Milan.

### 312. SUMMARY of LETTERS from PAULO DA LODI.

Dated Lisle, the 19th.

On that day my Lady received news from the King of England, purporting that his consort the Queen had certain intelligence of the death of the King of Scotland, whose corpse was found amongst the killed, his hands being yet in their gauntlets, which she sent to the King, telling him that she was also sure of the death of upwards of 18,000 Scots.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 20.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 54.

### 313. DUKE OF FERRARA to his SECRETARY in VENICE.

Announces receipt of a letter from the Government of Florence, whose advices from the French court, dated Amiens, 5 August, notified the victory gained by the Scots in England, 6,000 English being killed, and the Lieutenant and other men of note being captured.

The King of England was destroying the walls of Terouenne, and was expected to return to England. The Emperor had quitted the English camp, and was on bad terms with the King.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 58,  
59.

### 314. FOSCARI, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME, to the STATE.

Dated 15th and 16th September.

The Cardinal of England and the Imperial ambassador, the Lord Albert of Carpi,\* had made rejoicings, caused high mass to be performed at the Madonna del Popolo, and burnt bonfires at Rome, for the victory obtained over the French. The ambassador Foscari, on account of his health being unable to go in person to the Pope, sent his secretary, Augustin Bevazam, to hear the news. The Pope told him there was no reliable news whatever of victory against the French, so that no trust can be placed either in English or French intelligence. The affair of Scotland also was not true; but there were letters of the 11th from Lyons, and from the court at Amiens of the 6th, to the effect that the English had destroyed the walls and levelled the ditches of Terouenne, and were going to besiege another town in Picardy, called Ciovers (*sic*), which, however, had been well supplied and fortified by the French. The King of England, having taken Terouenne, had gone towards Paris. The Scots, in number 10,000, had crossed the English Borders, and 40,000 more were following, under which circumstance the King of England might return to England. The Emperor was in the

\* Alberto Pio, Count of Carpi, the pupil and first patron of the elder Aldus, was ambassador from Lewis XII. to Julius II. in April 1510; but in the following year he entered the service of the Emperor Maximilian, and at a later period, in the reign of Charles V., resumed his allegiance to France.





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camp on the 6th, but the Pope did not know whether he had left or returned subsequently.

The Cardinal of England had been to the Pope to make him promulgate the censures against the King of Scots in accordance with the articles stipulated between those two sovereigns [the Emperor and the King of England?], but the Pope had refused to do so.\*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii., pp. 59,  
60.

### 315. VETOR LIPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 16th September; seen by Marin Sanuto.

In his last he wrote the news of Scotland against England, the reverse apparently of what had happened, for on that morning [16th Sept.], the Lord Albert of Carpi and the Cardinal of England received letters from the Emperor in the camp, in date it was said of the 1st, announcing the invasion of England by 10,000 Scots, who, meeting with no opposition, burnt six villages (*ville*), and took some prisoners; but suddenly the English troops mustered, drove back the enemy across the Borders into Scotland, and, pursuing them, burnt 24 villages (*ville*) and made prisoners.

The English had destroyed the walls of Terouenne, and filled up the ditches. 20,000 Switzers were encamped at Dijon. On account of this news great bonfires had been burnt, and guns and rockets discharged as a sign of rejoicing, so that the first intelligence was not true. Frenchmen never tell the truth (*Francesi non dicono mai il vero*). At Rome it was apprehended that France would lose his kingdom should England persevere in the war, as seems to be his intention. This news likewise he disbelieves.

On that morning [16th September] the Cardinal of England and four other cardinals, with the ambassadors from Spain, from the Emperor, and from Milan, went to Santa Maria del Popolo, and had high mass sung for this their victory, which after all might not be verified.

On that morning [16th September] Consistory was held, and the Pope said the news announced by the English was false, though it was true the Scots had routed the English, and were coming over the Borders with 50,000 men, and the vanguard of some 10,000 had skirmished with the English, so that the war between them had commenced; and therefore no credit should be given to the statements of the French, nor yet of the English, as all wrote their letters to suit their own purposes.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 22.  
Sforza Archives,  
Milan.

### 316. BRIAN TUKE, Clerk of the Signet (*scriba regius*), to RICHARD [PACE],† Secretary of the Cardinal of England.

A few days ago saw letters both from him (Pace) and the Cardinal, implying doubts of the King's success. Attributes this in part to the mere lies which he (Pace) may have heard from the French

\* See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 671, no. 4455.

† "Domino Ricardo."





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and their partisans, and partly to the English Cabinet, which omitted to write to the Cardinal, though he (Tuke) is of opinion that if he owed as much to any mortal, as "our most Christian King" \* did to God, he should consider that his shoulders were heavily burdened, as all their undertakings had succeeded more prosperously than he could have imagined.

First of all, on quitting England, they found the weather very mild. Secondly, the army, although composed of heterogeneous nations (*disparibus nationibus*), was so well agreed and unanimous, and so utterly free from dissensions, as to defy exaggeration. Thirdly, no epidemic of any sort assailed so very numerous an army. Fourthly, such was the plenty of provisions, that 20,000 men were living in the camp in time of war far more cheaply than they lived at home in time of peace. Fifthly, they had many friends, who were of the greatest help to them, the chief of them being the Emperor, who with many princes and other great lords remained there constantly. Sixthly, in every direction they gained victories hitherto unparalleled, being always few against many, and always conquering, a proof of divine assistance.

In order to give him (Pace) a fuller account of all their proceedings than was contained in the letters of the King, who wished rather to diminish than exaggerate, informs him that the King gave Terouenne to the Emperor, whose commanders, after the departure of the English troops, burnt the whole city, with the exception of the cathedral church; the population, warned by the King, having carried off all their effects to the neighbouring towns; and such was the end of Terouenne, of late so impregnable a stronghold.

This done, the King went to Lille on a visit to the Lady Margaret, to which very grand spectacle all the noble lords and ladies, and the merchants of Flanders, Holland, and Brabant crowded, and received his Majesty in very great triumph. On the following Tuesday the King returned to the army, then on its march to besiege Tournai, where they found the suburbs burnt, but the neighbouring towns and villages so well supplied with wheat and barley and other daily necessaries, that each of the King's soldiers would have enough for himself and his horse for the next eighteen weeks. The city was then blockaded on every side, and the army built winter dwellings for themselves, of which a great part have chimneys. Tournai is large and beautiful, the wealthiest city in all Flanders, and the most populous of any on that side of Paris. Have stormed one gate, inside which the King's troops have established themselves; the castle has been battered down by the artillery. Within the city there are no soldiers, but a great amount of peasantry and butchers, without any commander-in-chief. The besieged think themselves sufficiently strong to resist the whole world, because they have a very great amount of cannon; but they suffer from a scarcity of provisions, and, he believes, lack powder. The besiegers walk close to the

\* "Quantum Cristianissimus Rex noster." King Lewis having been declared schismatic, Henry VIII. assumed the title given to Lewis XI. by Pope Paul II.







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walls daily, and the King himself does so occasionally for three hours and half at a time. The English ordnance was planted in the trenches (*in fossis*), and the enemy having twice sought a parley, it was granted for two days, during which time the besiegers not abstaining from visiting the trenches, the enemy pointed a gun to intimidate them; whereupon the King ordered all the ordnance to play upon the city, which was done so incessantly that the walls were well nigh levelled to the ground. The besieged then again demanded a parley, though the cannon continue to play, as the King will not lose a moment of time. At any rate the place is gained. It manufactures excellent carpets and table covers (*tapetes et mantilia*) and will prove very useful for the King, as Burgundian and Rhenish wines can be conveniently brought thence to England, on which account the dwellings now built as already described, and which occupy a space more than thrice the size of Tournai, will be left standing.

The French army is so great a distance from the English that no breeze can bring them any news of it.

Have sent a message full of comfort to the schismatic King,\* thus:—

“The King of Scots, of all Christian men the falsest, has been killed in fair fight by the Earl of Surrey, who attacked the King’s own camp in a certain forest called Barmerwood, in England, all the nobility of Scotland being with the King. In the conflict 10,000 Scots were slain, in the flight as many more; the battle was fought on the 9th of this month. All the ordnance of the Scots, their tents, and the rest of their baggage was taken; the course of the whole business being as follows:—

“On St. Bartholomew’s Eve [23 August] the false and perjured King of Scots invaded England, and took the castle of Norham (not without shame to certain individuals), razing it to the ground. He then led his army towards Berwick, burning the villages in every direction. The Earl of Surrey, Lords Dacres, Coniers, Latimer, Scrope, and other great personages of those parts had not yet mustered; but each made such haste that on the 7th of September the Earl of Surrey summoned and challenged the aforesaid perjured King of Scots to give battle on the following Friday. Such was the reliance placed by that King on his French and Scottish commanders, that he thought all England together would not dare oppose him; but the Earl of Surrey kept his engagement and promise. Lord Howard, the Admiral, having heard that the King of Scots most boastfully proclaimed that he had long sought him by land and sea, as one who from fear always fled and avoided battle, quitted the royal fleet, left a deputy in command, forthwith landed, and sent a message to the perjured King of Scots, that he would lead the van of the army, not on horseback, but on foot, lest he should be supposed a craven and a runaway. He moreover warned the King of Scots not to take him alive; he having determined not to capture any Scot, however noble he might be,

\* Lewis XII. having sanctioned the conventicle of Pisa, Duke was justified in giving him this title.







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even were it the King himself, but to kill him—promises which were fulfilled.

“Accordingly, on the appointed day, the army attacked the Scots, whose forces were assembled on the summit of a hill, at the distance of a mile from its base, the hill being so strengthened and defended by ordnance that the assailants were obliged to wade through a certain marshy pass, leaving their guns in the rear.

“The army of the Scots formed five lines in square battalions, representing the figure of a spear head; all being equidistant from the English army, which was divided into two lines, with two wings.

“In spite of the Scottish artillery, which inflicted little or no damage, Lord Howard marched to the foot of the hill, where he halted a short time, until the other wing of the rearguard had joined the last of his lines.

“Thereupon the Scots came down the hill in very good order, after the German fashion, with iron spears in masses. The Earl of Huntly, the Earl of Airlie, and the Earl of Craufurd broke upon Lord Howard. This force, together with the Earls, all perished.

“The perjured King of Scots attacked the Earl of Surrey, at whose side Lord Darcy’s son was following; near whom Lord Maxwell, a Scot, with his brother Lord Herries, were killed, and well nigh all the rest of the Scottish nobles, the list of whose names had not yet been received. In these two engagements no prisoners were made, no quarter given. The Earl of Havevves (*sic*) [William Hay, fifth Earl of Errol?]\* and the Earl of Argyle,† with a very great force, attacked Sir Edward Stanley, who slew the greatest part of them. Lord Edmund Howard, who led his brother’s right wing, was assailed by the Chamberlain of Scotland [Alex. Lord Hume]. He was thrice felled by the Chamberlain, to the blame of his soldiers, who were cowards,‡ but Lord Dacres succoured him with fifty horse. The Chamberlain of Scotland alone got home alive, though he nevertheless in like manner lost all his men.”

After performance of these feats, the entire army of the Scots took flight. The flight commenced at noon and lasted till night. The English halberdiers decided the whole affair, so that in this battle the bows and ordnance were of little use. Only one English nobleman, a knight, fell;§ the rest of the killed did not amount to 400.

Of the Scots upwards of 10,000 men were captured and slain in flight, and as many more were killed on the battlefield.

At the time of this engagement Lord Lovel was at Nottingham with 15,000 men, on his march towards Scotland, the Queen being already 40 miles beyond London, with 40,000.

The Scots numbered in reality 60,000 men, though they were said to be 80,000. The English were 40,000, though reported to be

\* William Hay, fifth Earl of Errol, slain in the battle of Flodden, 1513. (See Collins’ Peerage, vol. vii. p. 201. Ed. London, 1812.)

† *Sic*; qu. Lennox? (See Mr. Brewer’s Calendar, vol. i. p. 667, no. 4441.)

‡ They were Cheshire men. (See Hall, p. 564.)

§ Query, Sir Wynchard Harbottle? (See Mr. Brewer’s Calendar, vol. i. p. 668, no. 4441.)





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only 30,000; "and this is the end of James, late King of Scots, of all mankind the falsest."\*

In the pouch (*in loculis*) of a noble Scot who perished a written paper was found, of the following tenour:

"To the western seaport of Dunbar the King of France sent to James IV. King of Scots: First 25,000 gold crowns of full weight. Also 40 cartloads of powder. Two pieces of great ordnance called cannons (*qui canones dicuntur*). Also a ship laden with 400 arquebuses and 600 hand culverins, with their shot. Also a ship laden with bombards and other engines (*machinis*), including 6,000 spears, 6,000 maces, —, and pikes. Also a knight, by name Dansi (*sic*), with 50 men-at-arms, and 40 captains to command the soldiers."

After the King's letters had been written, he detained them for three hours to announce the result of the parley granted to the citizens of Tournai; and in the meanwhile another courier arrived from England, with news that all the Scottish nobility fell in the battle, viz., 11 earls, 15 barons, 1 archbishop (of St. Andrew's he supposes), 2 bishops, and the King's secretary; the French ambassador, Mons. de la Motte, and a great many other nobles.

The rent surcoat (*paludamenta*)† of the King of Scots has been sent to Tournai stained with blood: it was chequered in the English fashion.

The traitor Scots, who dared not face England when the King was there, and sought to destroy her in his absence, have paid condign penalty.

Yesterday "this opulent, strong, and fair and extensive city of Tournai" surrendered. It might have been stormed, the English having battered down the castle, and forced one of the gates, of which they kept possession; but the King most graciously granted the abject and pitiful prayers of the besieged, who requested permission to surrender it to him and his heirs; and the Emperor renounced all his claims upon it, in favour of "our most Christian King," who is to enter the city in triumph on the morrow. After thanksgivings to God, justs will be performed; the King receiving on his entry 100,000 ducats, besides a great many other presents derived from the spontaneous civility of the citizens. The King is also to receive 10,000 ducats annually, besides the royalties (*reditus possessionis*) belonging to the city.

"We have now the city of Terouenne, which was called 'the King's Treasury' (*la Chambre du Roy*), and Tournai, on whose walls was inscribed '*La pucelle sans reproche*,' namely, 'the unsullied maiden.' The 'King's Treasury' is burnt, and this 'Maiden' hath lost her maidenhood.

"I am greatly fatigued, writing good and gladsome news, thank God, in every direction.

"We also took five other walled towns, which nobody here values because of the magnitude of other matters.

\* "Et hic est finis Jacobi dudum Scotorum Regis præ cæteris falsissimus."

† "Lacerata paludamenta Regis Scotorum huc missa fuerunt, tincta sanguine et vari-gatijs (*sic*) more nostro." In Ellis's Letters, 1st series, vol. i. p. 88, there is a letter from Queen Katharine to Henry VIII., in which she mentions "the pece of the King of Scott's cote whiche John Glyn now bringeth."





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"If, as is supposed, the Queen be with child, we owe very much to God."

Tournai, 22nd September.

[*Latin.*]

Sept. 23.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvi. p. 7,  
tergo.

**317. COMMISSION** from the DOGE and SENATE to PIETRO LANDO, Ambassador to Leo X.

To inform the Cardinal of York that his proceedings are most agreeable to the State, thanking him greatly, and requesting him to perform the same good offices as always used by him with his King, towards whom the State means ever to be most obsequious.

[*Italian, 64 lines.*]

Sept. 24.  
Sforza Archives,  
Milan.

**318. HENRY VIII. to MAXIMILIAN SFORZA, DUKE OF MILAN.**

Answered his most loving letters a few days ago, but now sends these present, which are well nigh copies.

Announces the surrender of Tournai on the 23rd.

"From our city of Tournai, 24th September 1513."

[*Signed:*] "Henricus."

[*Countersigned:*] "And. Ammonius."

[*Original, Latin.*]

Sept. 24.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 67.

**319. FOSCARI, Venetian Ambassador in ROME, to the STATE.**

Dated 20th September.

Receipt there of letters from the Florentine ambassador in France dated Amiens the 8th, that the King of England had destroyed and burnt Terouenne, and was gone to encamp under St. Quentin; that the affairs of Scotland would come to naught, as the Scots wanted money from France, whereas France was unable to send them any, either by land or sea.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 25.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 69.

**320. DOM. COSTANZA to the STATE.**

Dated Lyons, 17th September.

Announces the news of Scotland against England. The English viceroy had been captured. The English had destroyed Terouenne, and were on their march to encamp under St. Quentin, the French army having also moved in the same direction. The first to arrive at the pass would be victorious.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 75.

**321. GOVERNMENT of FLORENCE (*Dieci della Balia*) to PIETRO BIBIENA, Papal Ambassador in Venice.**

Dated 18th September.

Nothing of importance, save the movements of the English after the taking of Terouenne, which they had destroyed, some said, for the sake of dispensing with a garrison, others, with a view to fill St. Omer, a neighbouring town belonging to the Archduke, which, judging from this project, could not be very populous. The English were supposed to act thus from perceiving that the French towns near Terouenne on the Somme, such as Amiens, Abbeville, and Peronne, were well provided and strong, and mistrusting their power to take them. They were expected to march towards St. Quentin, near the source of that river, where they did not





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expect any provision to have been made, so as to enter the adjoining province of Champagne by way of Rheims, and proceed in the direction of Paris. The French, however, had sought to thwart this plan by putting all provisions in the large towns, and intercepting the English supplies.

By private letters from Lyons, understood that the English had already taken that line of march, and were encamped under Arras. Many persons in Venice knew France well, and through them Bibiena would be better able to understand and estimate the foregoing intelligence.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 26.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 76.

322. ROBERTO ACCIAIUOLO to the GOVERNMENT of FLORENCE.

Dated Amiens, 5th September 1513.

On the 3rd advices were received from several quarters, announcing the rout of the English by the King of Scotland, and that he had captured several persons of account, some 6,000 men having been killed; which intelligence was subsequently repeated through various channels; yet it did not appear to him derived from any trustworthy source, though, being received from so many parts, it might be entirely or partially true; and two days since it had been reported by numerous spies from the English camp, that owing to this reverse, King Henry was to return to England.

Did not write for certain, but on the reports of spies; if verified, French affairs would prosper. The Emperor was in the camp, and evidently directed the whole of the war; wherein, if not more fortunate than it was his wont to be in other wars, it would be desirable that he should govern everything.\*

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 82,  
83.

323. VETTOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 14th and 26th September 1513.

The English army was marching straight to Paris.

The English were encamped under Tournai; the Scotch had gained a victory over the English, and the Queen had recalled her army.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 29.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 80.

324. FRANCESCO FOSCARI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the STATE.

Receipt there of news from France, dated from the court at Amiens, 17th and 19th. Arrival in the camp of 14,000 Switzers, and of the Duke of Guelders with 10,000 lansquenets. The English were going to encamp under Tournai, a free town, which announced its intention of holding out; yet the armies were approaching each other, the English being in great number and very powerful, so that it was supposed a battle must necessarily ensue.

[*Italian.*]

\* Florence had declared herself French, and as the Emperor Maximilian was by no means a fortunate military commander, Acciaiuolo wished him to direct everything. The words in the original are, "Lo Imperadore si truova in campo e si vede e maneggia tutta questa guerra; et se non ha migliore fortuna in questa, che sia solito nelle altre, saria desiderarlo governatore del tutto."







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Oct. 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 112.

**325. FRANCESCO FOSCARI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the STATE.**

Dated 30th September and 1st October.

Receipt there of a letter from a Florentine in Flanders\* to the Cardinal of York, stating that the Scots, having entered England, gave battle; that 4,000 of them were killed; and that the body of the King of Scotland had not been found; he was supposed to have been killed. On account of this news the Cardinal of England had bonfires burnt at Rome, the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors doing the like, though it was possible the intelligence might not be true.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 113.

**326. MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.**

Dated Amiens, 13th, and from the camp the 15th September, in cipher, by express.

On the 14th the most Christian King had mass celebrated, and mounted on horseback, armed at all points. The ambassador accompanied him on his way to the camp, together with a number of lords and barons, many of them being men eighty years of age; so that they march willingly against the King of England. On arriving his Majesty reviewed the army.

The English proceed slowly, and were going to besiege Tournai, a town well provided and hostile to the Emperor, who had been for four days in King Henry's camp.

Also that the Scots had attacked England, and that the Duke of Guelders had not yet arrived.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 7.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 136.

**327. FRANCESCO FOSCARI, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the STATE.**

Dated the 4th.

From what the Pope had said to him on the preceding day, the news of the rout of the Scots and the death of their King, as announced by him on the 1st, on authority of the letter received by the Cardinal of England, was now confirmed, both by letters from a Florentine merchant in London, and by letters from Bannisius (*Bavisi*),† the imperial agent (*homo imperial*), in the English camp, addressed to the Lord Albert of Carpi, stating that the English attacked the Scotch in the night, and killed the King by a wound in the posteriors (*et amazzono il Re di ferita di ano*).

The letters of said Bannisius also purported that the delegates from Tournai had come into the English camp, and would surrender the town immediately; so that as far as could be seen the affairs of the French were in the worst possible plight.

[*Italian.*]

\* Ambassador Spinelly. See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 673, no. 4459.

† Concerning James Bannisius, the Emperor's secretary, see Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. index.





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Oct. 7.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 138  
to 140.

## 328. The DUKE OF FERRARA to the STATE.

Dated 6th October.

News received by the Bishop of Gurk on the 27th September, from the imperial court.

Last paragraph in a letter to his lordship from the Emperor, written in the castle of Lille, on the 12th September:—

"In all matters concerning this war, we are well agreed with the King of England, and shall follow up the undertaking against the enemy the whole of this winter, and hope, with God's assistance, to humble the pride of the French; so that for ever, or at least for two years, there will be nothing to fear. During this negotiation we shall visit our children, and be able to defend them and their affairs, and ourselves."

In private letters dated Lille the 14th September, it was stated that, after dismantling Terouenne, they had burnt it. That the Emperor and the King of England were gone to the castle of Lille, belonging to Prince Charles, and were besieging Tournai, which, although a strong place, they hoped to obtain speedily.

The French forces were in the county of Artois, the Dauphin being with them, and the commander [in chief], the Duke of Bourbon. The King of France was at Amiens, and the Queen at Blois. The German infantry in the service of France had refused to fight against the Emperor and the house of Austria and Burgundy, and the French had sent them elsewhere.

The Emperor and the King of England were hourly expecting news of the engagement between the English and Scotch, as both sides were preparing to give battle.

They were expecting the decision of the King of Spain, who was to attack France with 15,000 infantry and 1,500 men-at-arms, and other foot and light horse.

The Lady Margaret had come to the castle to visit the King, very much to the satisfaction of both one and the other, and to the great joy of their respective subjects.

The King of England, in the presence of the lady aforesaid, sang and played on the glitteron-pipe (*flauto de cythara*), and the lute-pipes (*lira de' flauti; sic*)\* and on the cornet (*corneo*); and he danced. The Queen had written to him, congratulating him on the victory, and on his capture of the Duke of Longueville; adding that it was no great thing for one armed man to take another, but that she was sending him three, taken by a woman; and that if he sent her a captive duke, she should soon send him a king.

In private letters of the 18th, intelligence had been received of a battle between the English and Scots, wherein the last-named were routed, 20,600 being killed, and 5,000 of the English.

[*Italian.*]

\* For a list of Henry the Eighth's musical instruments, see Ellis, series 2, vol. i. p. 272.





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Oct. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 137.

**329.** RECEIPT on that morning, through the DUKE of FERRARA, of a letter with copious news of Scotland and of the death of the King. His obsequies were being performed, and when the English wanted to invade the country to conquer it, the King of England forbade them, saying he chose that kingdom to belong to his sister, and to his nephew and niece, the children of the late King of Scotland.

A male heir was born to the King of England, and will inherit the crown, the other son having died.

The King sent a French prisoner, Monsr. de ———, as a present to the Queen, and she sent him back three Scotsmen of note, saying it was not a marvel for one man-of-war to take another man-of-war, such as that Frenchman sent to her by the King, to whom she sent back these three Scotsmen taken by a woman alone.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 137,  
138.

**330.** BADOER, VENETIAN AMBASSADOR IN SPAIN, to the SIGNORY.

Dated Valladolid, 16th and 18th September.

Writes news of the English and of their capture of Terouenne. The King of England is young, rich and warlike, and will destroy France.

King Ferdinand told Badoer that the Pope had been negotiating a marriage between his brother, the Magnifico Julian, and his (King Ferdinand's) natural daughter, the King having taken her out of a convent, as already written by Badoer.

It now seems that the Pope means to marry his brother to the daughter of the late King Frederick of Naples, who is in Italy; so King Ferdinand abused the Pope grossly, saying he was only good to play the lute, and knew nothing of statesmanship, and that he is the one who maintains the wars amongst Christians, using much foul language against him.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 139.

**331.** JAMES BANNISIUS, Imperial agent, to the LORD ALBERT of CARPI.

Dated Tournai, 17th September.

The King of Scotland entered England with 40,000, and took Norham, advancing four leagues into England. The Lord Treasurer, Earl of Surrey (*Sorch*), went to meet him with 30,000 men, and the battle was fought on the 9th, the English being victorious, and taking the artillery and wagon train; and it was not known whether the King was a prisoner or killed, as he had not been found.

It was heard that 13,000 Scots had been killed, and 10,000 made prisoners.

The Queen of England had given birth to a son.

The army was under Tournai, and had already constructed batteries. There were two parties in Tournai: the most powerful and noble held to the Emperor; the populace were for the French. There were no efficient troops within.





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Oct. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 140.**332. JAMES BANNISIUS, Imperial agent, to the LORD ALBERT of CARPI.**

Dated Tournai, 20 September.

The King of Scots had been made prisoner, and died of his wounds an hour afterwards. The body had been conveyed to Berwick (*Varich*).

The King of England had shown to the Emperor the garment (*veste*) the King of Scots wore. The King of Scots left a son and a daughter, the eldest four years old. The Earl of Surrey had entered Scotland, burning everything, but the King (of England) charged him to burn no more.

Tournai was parleying with the Bishop of Winchester (*Bito-niense*). The iron gauntlets of the deceased King of Scots had been brought to the King of England.

Preparations were making for the performance of stately obsequies in his (the King of Scots') honour.

It was hoped Tournai would soon be taken.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 76.**333. [NICOLO DI FAVRI, of Treviso?] to FRANCESCO GRADENIGO.**

Dated London, — August to 3rd September 1513.

Receipt of letters in England, announcing the arrival of the Emperor in King Henry's camp, with a considerable force both of horse and foot. They were besieging Terouenne, a small but very strong town; their artillery had destroyed well-nigh all the walls, and they hoped soon to take the place. The French made frequent sallies; the English encountered them in great force, and but few escaped either death or capture.

On the 10th August, St. Lawrence's Day, the Emperor held a conference with the King in his tent, and they confirmed their good league for the annihilation of the King of France.

On said St. Lawrence's Day in London there was a terrible storm of wind and rain, with severe cold, after which letters arrived announcing great victories obtained by King Henry in three quarters.

On Tuesday the 16th, when with his army of 60,000 men under Terouenne, hearing that a strong French force was on its march to succour the place, his Majesty, according to report, determined at midnight to go and attack them in person, and mounted on horseback spear in hand, the Emperor doing the like. The French, in number 14,000, approached within three miles of the town, whereupon the battle began; and at length the King was victorious. Amongst the French prisoners were 15 lords, barons, and dukes, and 250 gentlemen and persons of account, so that two days later Terouenne surrendered, and thus the King could go the whole way to Paris without impediment, it being his intention to have himself there crowned King of France.

The second victory was gained by the fleet, which gave battle to that of France, and captured two large ships, with the prospect of taking others.







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The third victory was as follows. The King of England, understanding that his cousin the King of Scots had been persuaded by France to wage war on him, so that he might be diverted from his intention of annihilating King Lewis, sent a great lord, called my Lord Treasurer, a very sage man and of great age, with 30,000 efficient troops, well accoutred—not barefooted like those of Italy, men who did not go to rob, but to gain honour, and who marched at their own cost. They did not take wenches with them, and they are not profane swearers, like “our soldiers;” indeed there were few who failed daily to recite the “office” and our Lady’s Rosary. This army gave battle to the Scots, and, after much fighting, gained the day. According to report, the Scots had lost eight great lords, including my Lord of Fastecastell (*Monsignor dal Forte Castello*),\* who was said to have been at Venice, and all over Italy. This result proves that Scotland should desist from waging war on England, for although the Scots, according to report and in reality, are very numerous and accustomed to all hardships, yet the country is too poor. The inhabitants have no arms, and are situated at the end of the world. Hitherto small mention has been made of King Henry, whereas for the future the whole world will talk of him. For gold, silver, and soldiers not another king in Christendom can be found to compare with him. The Venetian ambassador [Andrea Badoer] had laboured vastly to effect this attack on the French, and when his object was accomplished the Signory leagued with the King of France! Is of opinion that some regard should have been had for the King of England by first of all giving him notice to that effect.

In London deaths from plague occur constantly. On the 22nd August two of the ambassador’s servants sickened; they did not own to the disease, and on the 25th rose from bed, went to a tavern to drink a certain beverage called “ale,” and died the same day. Their bed, sheets, and other effects were thrown into the sea (*sic*), so that they (the Venetians) had been in great danger. It was said that when the King of France heard of the loss of Terouenne he took to his bed in great grief. Also on the 3rd September letters arrived, announcing the capture by the King of England of another town, called Montreuil, a place very convenient for his march to Paris.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 153,  
154.

334. PIERO LANDO and FRANCESCO FOSCARI, Venetian Ambassadors in Rome, to the STATE.

Dated 6th and 7th October.

Confirm the rout of the Scots, and the death of their King, and also of a great number of lords. Announce the capture of Tournai by the King of England and the Emperor. The town is to give them 100,000 ducats, ready money, and to pay the King of England 10,000 annually.

This intelligence had been received from Lyons in letters dated the 3rd, and also that the English and French armies were at a

\* Cuthbert Home. See Hall, p. 563.







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short distance from each other, and would either give battle or come to terms.

The Pope told the ambassadors he intended to mediate, and would not fail using every good office.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 154.

**335. MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.**

Dated Amiens, 28th September.

Announces the rout of the Scots, and the death of their King, and that Tournai had surrendered on the terms aforesaid. The English army would advance vigorously: it was well paid: every thirty days twelve cart-loads of money arrived in the camp.

The King of France also had a very efficient army, so that an engagement might be considered inevitable, and yet a negotiation for terms was on foot.

Mentions his conversations with the King of France, who said the Emperor was captain, and the King of England his treasurer. The King of France did not fail to make provision. The English army was marching straight to St. Quentin, and the King of France would proceed with his forces to some place where he could remain in greater security.

Note by Sanuto, that it was also heard by way of Rome, that the King of France was sending four ambassadors to the Pope, to revoke and annul the conventicle of Pisa, and to place himself in the hands of his Holiness for the affair of the war.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 162,  
163.

**336. ANTONIO BAVARIN to the PESARI of London.**

Dated London, 13th September.

They would have already heard of the surrender of Terouenne to the English, property and persons being respected. Subsequently the walls were levelled, and everything was destroyed except the churches.

After this the English went to Lisle, and now mean to invest Tournai, a town belonging to Burgundy, which, since the death of Duke Charles [the Bold], had never tendered allegiance, and claimed the King of France for its protector. Although a very strong place, its strength would avail little against such a host. The English would then continue their march towards Paris by Upper Picardy, under the King and the Emperor, whose daughter likewise had visited his Majesty. The Duke of Saxe, of the Count Palatine's family, with 800 horse and 12,000 foot, picked troops, had joined, and other troops were arriving daily, so that by this time the army would amount to some 20,000 horse, heavy and light, and upwards of — thousand foot, besides many volunteers.

The whole force exceeds 100,000 men. Leaves his correspondents to judge what can resist it. The French remain downcast in their fortresses, and they will now have to do penance, and pay the damage done by them to "poor Italy." Prays God to give the King (of England) victory [in France], and also in Scotland, from which quarter he knows nothing. Had heard from Antwerp that the camp was raised from under Padua. Should the Signory wish to





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make terms with the Emperor (as reported), this would be the moment, as he loves the King of England more than if he were his son. This love for the King is universal with all who see him, for his Highness does not seem a person of this world, but one descended from Heaven (*non par persona di questo mondo, ma venuto dal cielo*).

Had received letters from Lisbon advising the arrival of three spice vessels, besides the first, and much merchandise; an annual cargo being also sent of some 400 pieces (*sic*) of tin, which, if good, will be detrimental to the English; for they (the Portuguese?) say they can have as much as they please.\*

### 337. ANTONIO BAVARIN to the PESARI of London.

Dated London, 14th September 1513.

Announces receipt of letters from the north, from the Lord Treasurer, the King's captain general against the Scots, purporting that he had given battle to the King of Scots, who had advanced some 20 miles into England with upwards of 70,000 combatants, the Lord Treasurer having about 50,000, with which he made as violent an attack on them as any ever witnessed during the last 500 years. At length the Scots took flight, and the English routed and destroyed them, killing, so far as could be judged, 30,000, and the rest for the most part were drowned in the retreat, having to cross a river which was so swollen that they could not pass, though, as they had always been used to ford it, this result was miraculous. The greater part of the nobility of Scotland was either killed or captive. As yet nothing certain was known of the King; he was supposed to be either dead or a prisoner. As may be imagined, many English fell, though by the Lord Treasurer's letter no one of account was missing.

The King of Scotland was King Henry's brother-in-law, and had sworn eternal peace; and then from subserviency to the King of France, broke faith and ruined himself, losing the artillery, which was numerous, and had been sent to him from France, and all his wagon-train. "Within a few days his Majesty our King has had three very grand victories; we are now expecting the next—that he expel him of France; and thus do we hope in God it will be."

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 184.

338. STATEMENT made to the SIGNORY by the Secretary of the Duke of Ferrara, who wrote to him in date of the 15th, that the English in France were prospering, and had obtained Tournai, &c.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 18.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 187,  
188.

### 339. VETTOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 12th and 15th.

The Pope had conferred a Scotch bishopric held by the King's brother†—who likewise had been killed by the English at the

\* This is the earliest notice known to me of the importation into Europe of tin from India. According to Haydn's Dictionary of Dates, the tin mines there were not discovered until 1740.

† According to Hall, p. 563, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who fell at Flodden was the bastard son of James IV.





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roul—on his nephew, Cardinal Cibo; its annual revenue amounted to 12,000 ducats; and on the 12th in consistory he bestowed the bishopric on this Cardinal.

For the defeat of the Venetians bonfires had been burnt at Rome by the Spanish ambassador, and by the Cardinals Remolino, Adrian, and of England; and the Cardinal Santa Croce did the like from fear, and not because he was really glad.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22.

**340. LORENZO PASQUALIGO to his BROTHERS in VENICE.**

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 201-  
204.

Dated London, 17th September, 1513.

Sends the present by way of Rome, enclosed in the letters of his very dear friend Giovanni Cavalcanti, who was sending a despatch in great haste, and had certainly not taken letters for anyone. Alludes to their being already acquainted with the victories obtained by "our great King" (*el nostro magno Re*), and his capture of Terouenne, after which everything was burnt except the churches, all the ditches being filled up; the conditions of the surrender stipulating respect for persons. A week previously 10,000 French horse, who had come to succour the town with provisions, were opposed by the Emperor with the Burgundian cavalry, and also by "our victorious King" (*el nostro vittorioso Re*) with 20,000 English foot, so that they took flight; 200 grandees being captured, amongst whom were a Duke and seven other men of great rank. But few lords were killed, for they ran away.

Terouenne being disposed of, they encamped under Tournai, a large and rich town, which always held to France, although heretofore under Burgundy. It surrendered with conditions, and its captain, a Frenchman, had been beheaded, as heard by letters received from the camp on the preceding day (16 September). Believed that the King having now made all safe in his rear, would march straight to Paris, as first of all he had with him the Emperor, accompanied by 1,000 men at arms, the Count Palatine (*sic*) 64 (*sic*) electors of the empire, and the chief lords of Germany, said to be in number 15,000 horse, and 40,000 infantry, and all in the pay of "our King," they being the flower of Germany, and fresh arrivals took place daily, so that the army would amount to some 120,000 men and upwards, and might advance without hindrance. The Emperor had promised not to abandon "our King," and they were on such very loving terms, that they called each other but father and son. According to report the Lady Margaret had been in the camp with them, so that "our King" will renew the name of his uncle,\* Henry VI.

They will have heard of the great victory gained over the Scots. On the 9th September the King of Scotland in person with his chief lords, and 80,000 men (according to report) advanced 12 miles into England. They were met by the Treasurer of England, the King's lieutenant, with 30,000 men. In another quarter there were 20,000, in three divisions, on the rear and flanks of the enemy,

\* "Barba"; qu. ancestor?





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and those on the rear destroyed the bridges over which the Scots had crossed the river into England. Thus by mutual agreement the battle was appointed for the 9th, and was fought for three hours, when the Scots took flight, 12,000 of them being killed, and 4,000 English. This intelligence had been received from the Treasurer in the camp. The engagement was sanguinary, the English having cut off the retreat in every direction. The King of Scots had assuredly been killed, and also many great lords; very few prisoners were made; many were drowned, the amount not being known, for they threw themselves into the water on the retreat. The Treasurer had taken all the artillery and baggage wagons, of which last he could only bring away 1,000.

The body of the King of Scots had been taken to Berwick, where the English army was. Believes they will await the King of England's orders about entering Scotland to take the Queen and Prince; as also with regard to the King's burial place, although excommunicated for having broken faith to his brother-in-law, to "aid that cursed France, whose friendship is great evil to those who possess it." Is of opinion that England may now obtain command of all Scotland.

Being acquainted with the great victories and success of "our magnanimous King," they must know that "our Queen" likewise took the field, with a numerous force under her command, at a distance of 100 miles from London; but having heard the news of this blessed victory, would return. Expatiates on the justice of the King's cause, and the expediency of having an ambassador with him during his present conference with the Emperor, as he had always aided the State in such matters as lay within his power. The ambassador Badoer would not stir, having neither commission nor letters from the Signory; nay, six months had elapsed without his receiving any despatches from the State. Does not comprehend the whim of incurring the expense of an ambassador in England, without employing him or giving him advices for the Signory's need.

The plague is raging most fiercely in London; and all the Venetians had already taken houses in the country, many also having departed. Purposes doing the like, as it was in truth very perilous to remain in London, the deaths there being said to amount to 200 per diem; the plague being also in the English fleet. Prays to God to dispense health.

There is no business doing of any sort, and would recommend them, even if able to sell goods well, on credit (*a tempo*), not to do so. As already mentioned by him, Bonvixi talked of sending a ship (then in the fleet) to Venice before Christmas; and if they could obtain a licence for the transmission of tin and bastards [bastard cloths] overland, the money would be well spent, as he is of opinion there will be no possibility of sending by sea.

The King of Spain remains a spectator of the entertainment. Hopes the day may soon come when he will be glad to betake himself into Arragon, and leave Castile to Prince Charles, which would be a reward for his misconduct and breach of promise.

The Queen widow [of Scotland] would make a good match for the Emperor, and such marriage might easily take place. The







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French were not understood to have any camp in the field, and had merely fortified themselves in Amiens and other places, which would avail them nothing, especially as, according to report in London, 20,000 Switzers had invaded Burgundy. Report in London that the Turks had invaded Puglia, which, if true, would compel the Spaniards to defend themselves there and leave Venice at peace.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 22.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 204,  
205.

## 341. FLODDEN.

Names of the Scottish earls and lords killed by the English in the battle on the 9th September 1513.

Jacobus, Scotorum Rex  
Archiepiscopus Sancti Andree

James King of Scotland.  
Archbishop of St. Andrew's.

Episcopus Slenensis  
Episcopus Retenensis  
Abbas Ynchafiensis  
Abbas Riluiniensis  
Comes Luinthllere  
Comes Montis Rosæ  
Comes Retnensis  
Comes Crafordiæ  
Comes Argiliæ  
Comes Livenensis  
Comes Leutaniæ  
Comes Castiliæ  
Comes Mercenensis  
Comes Batellis  
Comes Areliæ  
Comes Atheliæ  
Dominus Lovetus  
Dominus Forbes  
Dominus Elvesconensis  
Dominus Underbiensis  
Dominus Maxuellus  
Dominus Sancti Cleri  
Marchio Leonensi  
Marchio Clecæmæ  
Do. Joanne Graunte  
Do. Angurias  
Dominus Roes  
Dominus Semphilius  
Dominus Borthire  
Dominus Al Ril  
Secretarius Regius

Bishop of the Isles (?).  
Bishop of Rothsay (?).  
Abbot of Inchaffrey (?).  
Abbot of Kylwenney (?).  
Earl of Linlithgow (?).  
Earl of Montrose.  
Earl of Rothsay (?).  
Earl of Craufurd.  
Earl of Argyle.  
Earl of Leven (?).  
Earl of Lothian (?).  
Earl of Castelles (?).  
Earl of March (?).  
Earl of Bothwell (?).  
Earl of Errol (?).  
Earl of Athol.  
Lord Lovat (?).  
Lord Forbes.  
Lord Elveston (?).  
Lord Inderby (?).  
Lord Maxwell.  
Lord Sentclere (?).  
Marquis of Lindsay (?).  
Marquis of Graham (?).  
Lord John Graunt (?).  
Lord Angus (?).  
Lord Ross (?).  
Lord Sempyll (?).  
Lord Borthwick (?).  
Lord Arskyll (?).  
Master Cawell, Clerk of the  
Chancery (?).

Do. Davusi Gallus  
Alexander Serton, Eques Auratus  
Gulielmus Stoit, Eques  
Joannes Heme, Eques

—— French Secretary (?).  
Sir Alexander Seton (?).  
Sir William Stuart (?).  
Sir John Home (?)





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|                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Dominus Clorin                | Lord Cowyn (?).                          |
| Decanus Clasquensis           | Dean of Glasgow (?).                     |
| David Heme, Eques             | Sir David Home (?).                      |
| Corthubertus Heme de Castello | Cuthbert Home, Lord of Fast-castell (?). |

Also in the first engagement the following Scottish grandees were captured or killed:—

|   |   |
|---|---|
| Dominus Hunthelei   | Lord Huntley.                                 |
| Georgius Hume, filius Gubernatoris Scoziæ                 | George Hume, son of the Governor of Scotland. |
| Dominus Philippus, filius primogenitus Domini de Nesbethe | Lord Philip, eldest son of Lord Nesbit.       |
| Dominus Humus, junior                                     | Lord Hume the Younger (?).                    |
| Duo Avunculi Domini Sancti Joannis                        | Two uncles of Lord St. John (?).              |
| Hugo Douglas  | Hugh Douglas.                                 |
| Dominus de Huton  | Lord Crichton (?).                            |

Never within the memory of man had the Scots so much wealth in their camp, for they took with them all their vessels of silver and gold, so that certain English peasants of the neighbouring valleys went forth to plunder them, and did not even spare their own countrymen.

In their camp the Scots had with them 4,000 feather beds; also a very great number of cannon, as named hereunder:—First of all seven great guns, which from their uniformity, were called the Seven Sisters. Also five curtals. Also two culverins. Also four sacres. Also seven great serpentines. Also twenty-four great guns. Innumerable wagons laden with various effects and provisions were also taken.

Names of the only four lords remaining alive in Scotland:

The Lord Treasurer.  
Lord Hamilton.  
Earl of Murray? (*Comes Maricæ*).  
Lord Herries? (*Dominus Heliis*).

The corpse of the King of Scotland was taken to York, because before Michaelmas ——— had come to that city, saying he would capture it (*sic*).

Sir Adam Forman, the standard bearer of the King of Scots, was taken alive, he being the brother of the schismatic Bishop of Murray.

20,000 soldiers had been killed, besides the lords and earls.

After the battle, the Earl of Surrey knighted 33 of those who had behaved well.

From England, 29th September 1513.

[*Latin.*]

Oct. 22.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 197.

342. Venetian Ambassador LANDO to the STATE.

Dated Rome, 15th October.

Opinion of Leo X. that the Signory would do well to cede Verona to the Emperor, as he was supported by the Kings of Spain and England





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Had been visited by the French ambassador, the Bishop of Marseilles, who announced the receipt of letters from Amiens, in date of the 3rd, when the English were still at Tournai.

Letters from Lyons stated how news had reached the Queen that it was not the King of Scotland who had been killed, but a natural brother of his who wore the King's coat (*veste*).

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 26.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 225.

343. VETOR LIPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 22nd October 1513.

News received there from France, that on the 6th the English army was at St. Quentin, and that of France at Amiens, 20 miles asunder; the Emperor and the King of England being at Tournai, where there were jousts for the victory.

At Rome on the 20th the two Cardinals of Sorrento and of England, and the ambassadors from the Emperor and Spain, held a close conference with the Pope, and despatched a post to the Cardinal of Gurk and the Viceroy. The Pope was sending nuncios to Scotland and England, to pacify matters there.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29.

Sanuto Diaries,  
x. xvii. p. 232.

344. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.

Dated 25th. Announces receipt of advices from Amiens, dated the 15th (though no letters had reached the French ambassadors,) that the King of England had left 6,000 foot and 200 spears in Tournai, had embarked his artillery and baggage, and would cross the Channel and return to England immediately, having given the Emperor 2,000 crowns (*sic*) to continue the attack on France, and keep the Switzers in his pay. Report that the fleet of Scotland had joined that of France. Also that the King of England was at Calais and would embark there.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 232,  
233.

345. DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in FRANCE, to the STATE.

Dated Amiens, 8th, 10th, and 13th October; in cipher.

The King of England had given the Emperor 200,000 francs (*sic*), each franc being worth 13 gross. The Emperor was going to besiege a city in France called Lys [*sic*, Liege?], subject to a bishop; so the King of France sent to the Duke of Guelders, desiring him to remain in those parts for its defence. The King of England was about to return home, but had promised to come back. He left 4,000 men at Calais, and the 100,000 francs (*sic*) given by him to the Emperor were destined for a levy of troops against this Flemish Bishop of Lys [Liege?], who had shown himself a French partisan. The King of England has ordered Tournai to pay the 6,000 infantry left by him there in garrison.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 233.

346. GOVERNMENT of FLORENCE to BIBIENA, Papal Ambassador in VENICE.

On the 10th (*sic*) the King of England crossed over to the





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island; and since his departure a great lord had apparently acted as mediator for an adjustment between the two sovereigns.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 1.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 237,  
238.

**347. PIERO LANDO**, Venetian Ambassador in ROME, to the STATE.

Dated 29th October.

The King of England had most assuredly crossed over to the island with his army, and quitted France.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 267.

**348. RECEIPT** of ADVICES from FRANCE, addressed to private merchants, that on the 14th of October the King of England crossed over to the island with his army, and that the French camp was going to Tournai to retake that town.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 269.

**349. VETOR LIPOMANO** to ———.

Dated Rome, 4th November.

The Pope was sending the Polish ambassador, then at Rome, first to France and then to England, to adjust the differences between the two Kings. Mentions a report that on the day of the coronation of the infant King of Scotland, the Scots routed the English.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 271.

**350. ADVICES** from ROME.

Read in the Venetian Senate on the 9th November.

The King of England had assuredly quitted France, and would return in the spring.\* A force (according to report) of 200 horse and 12,000 (*sic*) foot, under one who was his bastard brother,† had been left by him in Tournai, where, during his Majesty's stay, some jousts were made.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 9.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xli. p. 23,  
tergo.

**351. The DOGE and SENATE** to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in ENGLAND.

Understanding that the King is now returned to England, send their congratulations. He (Badoer) to keep the King well disposed towards the State, and to write constantly by way of Rome, as safest. Give account of the rout of their army by the Imperialists and Spaniards, and the cruelties committed by them. Announce a victory obtained at Calcina in the Bergamasque territory on the 2d November, by their commander Renzo da Ceri, who captured Cesare Fieramosca, 40 men-at-arms, and 200 light horse.

[*Italian, 37 lines.*]

\* According to the Chronicle of Calais, Henry VIII. sailed thence to Dover on the 21st October 1513.

† The Lieutenant of Tournai was Sir Edward Ponynghes; see Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 687, no. 4,519.—I believe that historians do not allude to his bastardy.



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island, and since his departure a great lord had apparently acted as mediator for an adjustment between the two sovereigns.

[Italian.]

347. PIETRO LANDO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the

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Nov. 1.  
Senato Discreto.  
v. xvii. p. 237.  
238

Dated 29th October.

The King of England had most assuredly crossed over to the island with his army, and quitted France.

[Italian.]

348. RECEIPT of ADVICES from FRANCE, addressed to private merchants, that on the 14th of October the King of England crossed over to the island with his army, and that the French camp was going to Tournai to retake that town.

[Italian.]

349. VETTOR BROMANO to ———  
Dated Rome, 4th November.

Nov. 8.  
Senato Discreto.  
v. xvii. p. 239.

The Pope was sending the Polish ambassador, then at Rome, first to France and then to England, to adjust the difference between the two Kings. Mentions a report that on the day of the coronation of the infant King of Scotland, the Scots routed the English.

[Italian.]

350. ADVICES from ROME  
Read in the Venetian Senate on the 9th November.

Nov. 9.  
Senato Discreto.  
v. xvii. p. 241.

The King of England had assuredly quitted France, and was returning in the spring. A force (according to report) of 200 horse and 12,000 (etc.) foot under one who was his personal brother had been sent by him to Tournai, where, during his Majesty's stay, some joints were made.

[Italian.]

351. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in ENGLAND.

Nov. 9.  
Deliberazioni.  
Senato Discreto.  
v. xvi. p. 25.  
256

Understanding that the King is now returned to England, and their congratulations. He (Badoer) to keep the King well disposed towards the State and to write constantly by way of Rome, and Give account of the rout of their army by the Imperialists and Spaniards, and the cruelties committed by them. Announces a victory obtained at Calais in the Bergamund territory on 24 November, by their commander Renato da Ceri, who captured 40 men-at-arms, and 200 light horse.

[Italian, 27 lines.]

\* According to the Chronicle of Charles Henry VIII. called thence to Dover on 21st October 1513.  
† The lieutenant of Tournai was Sir Edward Tressilgar, see Mr. Brown's Chronicle, v. i. p. 237, no. 4, 515.—I believe that historians do not allude to his identity.



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Nov. 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 283.**352. NEWS of the FRENCH COURT and of PICARDY.**

Received at Lyons at midnight on the 28th October 1513, having been written at Corbeil, on the 24th.

On Thursday morning the King of England departed from "Borgo Borgi, near Cocharchá" (*sic*) on his way back to England, where he had much to do, as the Scots in considerable numbers were waging war on him. The truth concerning the death of the King of Scots was not known. The King of France received news that he had been killed. The advices of the Scottish ambassador at the French court purported that he was alive.

According to report, the Earl of Douglas meant to avenge the death of the King of Scotland, and was waging this fierce war on England.

The King of England had taken with him his army and artillery, save a certain number of troops left in garrison at Tournai and Calais.

On the 21st October Monsr. de Rieux, who had been captured by the English and remained with them until then, arrived at the French court, and said he had seen the King and his army in readiness to embark in the course of that day.

The Captain Bayard, who was a prisoner to the English, had been released on paying a ransom of 1,200 ducats, and was at the French court.

The inhabitants of Tournai had privily sent a priest to the King of France, beseeching him to retake the place, because the surrender was owing to a conspiracy of four merchants, who betrayed and sold the town.

The King of England had left in Tournai a garrison of five or six thousand foot, and eight hundred horse. France hoped speedily to regain the place, as the King of England had treated the inhabitants so well that they neither wished nor expected to remain long under him, and would prefer death and the abandonment of the town (*villa*) and of their houses.

The Captain Louis d'Ars followed the King of England with 400 spears to harass his rearguard, but without success.

On the 20th October the King of France arrived at Corbeil, and sent for Mons. d'Angoulême and the princes and captains of his camp. On that day a council was held, and it was determined to send the Duke of Bourbon into Burgundy with 900 men at arms and 10,000 foot, including those of the Duke of Guelders.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 279.**353. LETTERS from LONDON, received by the PASQUALIGO firm.**

Dated, — October.

The deaths by plague varied from three to four hundred a day. Two individuals had died in the service of the Venetian ambassador, who, on account of the disease, was gone into the country.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 280.**354. VETOR LIPOMANO to ———.**

Dated, Rome, 10th November.

Receipt there of letters from France, dated 28th October, an-







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nouncing the departure of the King of England, and the rout of the English by the Scots.

[Italian.]

Nov. 17.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 287.

355. GOVERNMENT of FLORENCE ("X DI BALIA") to PIETRO BIRIENA, Papal Ambassador in Venice.

Advices from the French court, dated the 3rd. The King had determined to send his men-at-arms into garrison, as it was no longer the season to encamp; and this he did on hearing of the departure of the King of England, who, for love of a lady, had clad himself and his court in mourning (*qual per amor di dama era vestito di bruno lui e la sua corte*); and, according to many advices, the Scots were prospering in England.

[Italian.]

Nov. 19.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.,  
v. xxxvi. p. 58.

356. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

By their letters of the 12th had charged him to exhort the most Christian King to send troops into Italy with all speed.

By his letters of the 22nd down to the 27th, which came through Rome, received intelligence of the departure of the King of England. Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[Italian, 24 lines.]

Nov. 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 295.

357. DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Dated 13th October.

The Scots had entered England, and had crowned the infant son of their late King.

[Italian.]

Nov. 28.  
Senato Mar.  
v. xviii. p. 20.

358. DECREE of the SENATE.

Motion made to prolong for six months the permission to import western wools, on the the terms specified in the Act passed on the 23rd April 1513.

Ayes, 152. Noes, 0.

Dec. 2.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.,  
v. xxxvi. p. 37.

359. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in France.

To urge the most Christian King, now that he is free from the affairs of England, to turn his thoughts and his troops to the Italian undertaking.

[Italian, 30 lines.]

Dec. 18.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 354.

360. VETOR LIPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 3rd December 1513.

News received there of an engagement between the English and French fleets. Twelve French galleys had been captured, but for the present year the English would not invade France. The plague was very prevalent in England.

[Italian.]





1513.

Dec. 31.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 381.**361. VETOR LIPOMANO to ———.**

Dated Rome, 27th December.

On Christmas eve the Pope went into chapel and sung mass pontifically, and on the following morning at the 12th hour the Cardinal Remolino said mass; the Cardinals Gurk, Sauli, and Cibo singing certain lessons, as they are fine singers; after which a lesson was recited in a low voice by the Pope, who, later in the morning, went into chapel and said mass, and gave the sword and cap of maintenance to the King of England, to be sent to England by one of the papal grooms.

[Italian.]

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Jan. 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 400,  
401.**362. ANTONIO BAVARIN to the PESARI of London.**

Dated London, 6th November and 6th December 1513; received in Venice on the 4th January 1514.

They would have heard of the King's return, he having arranged with the Emperor to renew the attack on France in the spring.

In the preceding week the King received news that the Viceroy of Naples had advanced to Malghera, taken Mestre, and done great damage, and that he afterwards gave battle to the Venetian army, which he routed, the Proveditor Loredano being killed, Alviano put to flight, and many others killed and captured, to the infinite detriment and shame of the State. Mass had been sung and great bonfires had been burnt in London to celebrate these victories gained by the Emperor and Spain. Leaves them to imagine, besides the loss, how much it pained them to see this. Had never approved the cursed peace with France, always anticipating what has come to pass; but his countrymen were not aware of the power of England, which had invariably made France tremble, and now more than ever, as the Signory must at length be convinced.

The plague was still doing much damage. Prays God to save him. A few days previously a numerous French squadron put to sea with a considerable amount of infantry, intending to land somewhere in England and do mischief. The Almighty, however, did not choose England to undergo this penalty, for on the morrow of the squadron's departure from Brittany a storm arose, and all were drowned, including, it was said, some [English?] prisoners. Considers this a proof that everything goes against France.

In the preceding week the King had received a letter from the Pope, dated 2nd October, in favour of the Signory, urging him to make peace between Venice and the Emperor, who seemed very obdurate. There is no one to speak or urge the matter, and thus





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the affair stands. Should the State desire peace with the Emperor, the King of England could do what he pleased with him, more indeed than anyone else in the world.

Letters had been received from Rome, dated 2nd November, purporting that the Signory had requested the Pope to make her peace with the Emperor. The Pope's ambassador had been with the Emperor, but he (Bavarin) did not know what answer he received. It would have been desirable for the Signory to have written a letter to the King, who was still their friend, although Venice had made peace with France.

It was supposed the Papal ambassador would come to England, to negotiate peace with France; is of opinion this will be difficult, as a secret appointment had been made with the Emperor for a meeting at Calais in March. The English force will exceed that of last year. In England they have ordered 80,000 infantry, 100,000 (*sic*) light horse from North Wales, where there was an innumerable quantity of such troops, and other troops, besides Albanian light cavalry (*Stratioti*); also 5,000 heavy horse, all English, speaking one tongue. Moreover 10,000 heavy Burgundian horse, and 20,000 German infantry. They had also so much artillery on carriages, that it enclosed the whole camp, as if they were in a large city surrounded with walls on every side. It was their intention to go straight to Paris, leaving every other place in their rear. The navy also is very strong, and besides the vessels then afloat, orders were given for as many more to be in readiness in a few days.

Were the King ambitious of dominion like others, he would soon give law to the world; but he is good, and has a good council. His quarrel was a just one. He had marched to free the Church, to obtain his own, and to liberate Italy from the French.

Since the beginning of the war the King has spent upwards of four millions of crowns, and has still funds sufficient for more than five years, without touching his annual revenues.

When formerly he wrote of the King's wealth he was not credited. Prays God will pardon those who have been the cause of the cursed peace with France, which is the ruin of Venice.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 6.

Sanuto Diaries, v. xvii. p. 403.

363. MOTION made in the SENATE by the Sages, and carried, for a letter to be written to the ambassador in England, together with a letter of credence to the King, apologizing for having made the league with France, in order to recover that part of the Venetian territory which is occupied by those whom the State has paid for its acquisition. Declare that, being desirous of peace and to obtain their own, have done everything to effect an agreement with the Emperor, who would never consent. Latterly they have sent a power, and referred the matter for arbitration to the Pope. Therefore request the King, who has always been the friend of Venice, to exhort the Emperor to make terms with the Signory, which has ever been the bulwark of Christendom; whereas at this present, on hearing of some stir meditated by Sultan Selim against the Christian powers, are unable to resist as of yore, but have been







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compelled to send and confirm the peace made with his father, Sultan Bajazet.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 7.

Lettere del Collegio (Secreta),  
File No. 2.

**364. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to KING HENRY VIII.**

Although in the past months has abundantly assured the King that the State remained immutable in its observance towards him, and earnestly desired peace with the Emperor, which had been prevented (as often happened) by the wickedness of malignants, yet the Doge determined to write the present letter in full proof of similar assurance, referring the King for the rest to the statement of the ambassador Badoer.

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 7.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 38,  
tergo.

**365. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador England.**

Enclose a letter for the King, which he is to present, congratulating the King on his return, and giving assurance that the State bears him the good will which is required by its ancient love for his ancestors and himself. To say that excellent proof thereof was afforded by their not only electing, but sending on his way to the King, the late Francesco Capello, knight, whom the Emperor compelled to return by such impassable and rugged roads that he was seized with an illness of which he at length died. The agreement they made with the King of France was on compulsion, owing to the injuries done them by those who were bound to aid and defend them, and who were in their pay. They did not form this league for the purpose of offending anyone, and least of all the King, but solely to recover their own territory; nor have their friendship and observance towards the King been in any way diminished thereby. He (Badoer) is to request the King to consider them his very dear and especial friends. Have always been ready to make terms with the Emperor, nor do they leave anything untried to that effect, and lately accepted the Pope's arbitration; though the imperial agents say they cannot come to any arrangement, unless they write first to Germany and to the Catholic King; all which is done to gain time, so that the State may be taken unawares, for notwithstanding this, and although hostilities were to cease after the matter had been referred to the Pope, the Spanish army advanced farther, and does not cease harassing them. The authority exercised by the King with the Emperor being very well known to the State, they charge him (Badoer) to request the King to take the Signory's affairs under his care (*in patrocinio*), and contrive that the Emperor make peace. To tell the King that by private letters the Signory has been informed that the master of a certain bark, being captured by his Majesty's subjects, said that the Republic had promised bastard galleys and light galleys to act against England. Declare that nothing of the sort has ever been even imagined by them; and that they are obliged to keep their galleys in readiness for their own defence, both by reason of native enemies, and also on account of Sultan Selim, a







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most ferocious youth, who is preparing a very powerful armada to invade Italy.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

Postscript.—Understood, by way of Rome, that the King had complained of the Signory's sending Albanian light cavalry in aid of the King of France. Is to tell his Majesty that, if the French have Albanian light horse (*Stratioti*), the Signory did not send them, for the Signory have no Albanian subjects, the province being under the Turk. The individuals in question are probably rebels and deserters, and a proclamation has been made for their decapitation, if ever they be found within the Republic's territories. From this the King can understand the State's sincere and friendly disposition towards him.

[*Italian*, 55 lines.]

Jan. 13.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 426,  
427.

**366. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in Rome to the STATE.**

Dated the 5th and 8th.

Belief of the Pope that the Emperor would oblige him by making truce with the Signory.

Had conversed with the Cardinals Bibiena and Cornaro. The Pope would reconcile France and England upon the terms that the King of England should govern Scotland, which belonged to his nephew, the Queen of Scotland being his sister, and expecting to inherit the English crown, as the King has no children.

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 23.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 449,  
450.

**367. AUDIENCE given by the COLLEGE to the French Ambassador, who communicated letters from Rome and France.**

Condolences made to him by the Doge on the death of the Queen.\*

Note by the Diarist Marin Sanuto, that there was much talk amongst experienced statesmen, that the King of France, who was aged — years, and who had no sons, would marry. That he had only two daughters: Madame Claude, married to Monseigneur d'Angoulême, the Dauphin of France; the other, "Madame," who had not been promised to any one.

It was also said that there were three ladies who would do for him (*Esi diceva tre done feva per lui*). First, the widow of Scotland, the King of England's sister; secondly, the other sister of the King of England, a young woman of ———; thirdly, the Lady Margaret, widow of King Charles of France (*sic*),† and of the Duke of Savoy, daughter of the Emperor, and Regent of Burgundy; so that by the King of France taking either of these ladies peace might be made.

[*Italian*.]

\* Anne of Brittany died at Blois, on the 9th January, aged 37 years.

† In December 1482 the Archduchess Margaret was affianced to Charles VIII., who in 1491 cancelled the agreement, and married Anne of Brittany. The Archduchess then married the Infant of Spain, and on his death gave her hand to the Duke of Savoy.





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Jan. 31.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 463,  
464.

**368. CARDINAL CORNARO to the CHIEFS of the TEN.**

Dated Corneto, the 27th.

The French ambassador had received letters from his King, who is content to refer his disputes with the King of England and others for arbitration to the Pope. The Pope insists on arbitrating *de jure et de facto*, so the ambassador had sent to France for a sufficient power. The King of Spain was exerting himself to make peace between France and England.

[Italian.]

Jan. 31.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 464.

**369. VETOR LIPOMANO to ———.**

Dated Rome, 21st January.

Various opinions there concerning the King of France and the death of his wife, and whom he would marry, three ladies aforesaid being mentioned, videlicet, the Queen of Scotland, the maiden sister of the King of England, and the Lady Margaret. Some said a sister of the Archduke of Burgundy; others maintained that he would not marry, as he would lose Brittany, the inhabitants not choosing any but the Queen's daughter for their sovereign.

[Italian.]

Feb. 3.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 479.

**370. ROBERTO ACCIAIUOLO, Florentine Ambassador in France, to the "X DI BALIA."**

Dated Blois, 5th January.

The King was in bed with the gout, which impeded negotiations.

"The White Knight,"\* who was in Scotland, had written to the King that the Scots purposed continuing the war against England, for France, but require the aid of troops, and want 600 spears and 1,000 lansquenets, to obtain which they were sending two ambassadors to France.

[Italian.]

Feb. 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 483.

**371. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

Dated 13 January 1514.

The King shows himself in reality the Signory's friend, and it would be well to keep him so; he has offered to mediate for the agreement in course of negotiation with the Emperor, to whom he has already written letters accordingly.

Next May he will certainly invade France, and celebrate three pairs of marriages,—first, that of his maiden sister to the Archduke of Burgundy; secondly, of his sister the Queen widow of Scotland to the Emperor; and thirdly, of the Lady Margaret, the Emperor's daughter, to a Baron of England, called my Lord of

\* *Il Cavallier Bianco*. This "White Knight" was Antoine d'Arce, Lord of La Bastie, in the territory of Melans, near Grenoble. He was surnamed "the White Knight," because in battle he usually wore burnished armour, or perhaps a white scarf. On the death of James IV., the Regent Duke of Albany made him warden of the Marches in Scotland, where he was killed by David Hume of Wedderburn: see the historian Hume (vol. iii. p. 101, ed. London, 1744), and Louis Videl in his annotations to the Life of Bayard. Aymar du Rivail describes the White Knight thus, "*mediocris et valida statura, et inter alia lutos habens humeros fortitudinem denotantes.*"





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[Lisle], whom he means to make Duke of Suffolk.\* Mentions also the amount of troops which the King will bring into the field.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 6.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 488.

**372.** MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Dated Blois, 21 January.

Account of the obsequies of Queen Anne [of Brittany]. The King in bed with gout and fever.

A nuncio from the Pope, who was a prothonotary,† had been to the Lady Margaret, and was proceeding to England, for the purpose of making an agreement between England and France.

Moreover the Lady Margaret was having twenty-six pieces of ordnance cast, at the request of the King of England.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 8.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvi. p. 100.

**373.** INSTRUCTION given to the AMBASSADOR of SELIM I., by name ALI-BEI, and sent also to the Venetian "BAILO" at Constantinople, by the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The King of France perseveres in the league and good understanding between himself and the Signory, and is making great preparations of cavalry and infantry, and likewise of a fleet, to defend himself from the enemies who threaten him with an attack this summer, namely, the Kings of England and Spain, the Emperor, and the Switzers. The Queen of France died on the 8th ultimo, and the King has some thoughts of marrying again. The Pope gives the Signory fair words; believe him to be much afraid of the enemies.

[*Italian, 25 lines.*]

Feb. 17.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. pp. 514,  
515.

**374.** MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Dated Blois, 28th January.

The King of England also was making great preparations to invade France in the spring, so that King Lewis took small heed for the affairs of Italy, and is anxious for the consummation of the marriage of his daughter to Monseigneur d'Angoulême, that the "Bretons" may acknowledge her for their Queen.

The Marquis de Rothelin, who was a prisoner in England, having been captured when attempting to succour Tournai, had apparently ransomed himself for 100,000 crowns, and the King of France makes him a present of Peter of Navarre, captain of the Spanish infantry, whom the Marquis releases for 30,000 crowns, so that he will disburse 70,000 crowns ready money.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xvii. p. 524.

**375.** VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.

Dated 17th, 18th, and 19th February.

Receipt of letters from England, mentioning the great prepa-

\* See also Chronicle of Calais, p. 71.

† The name of this nuncio was Giovanni Pietro Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul V.; see Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. no. 4,563, p. 702.







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rations making against France by the King, who had been ill of the measles.

[*Italian.*]

March 1.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 1.

**376. HENRY VIII. to the SIGNORY OF VENICE.**

Dated London, 18th (*sic*) January 1514.

The agreement with the Emperor failed to take effect by fault of the State, who ought not to decline an adjustment, as otherwise the King could not avoid making the strongest possible demonstration against Venice.

[*Italian.*] \*

March 1.

Lettere del Col-  
legio (Secreta).  
File no. 3.

**377. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to SIR ROBERT WINGFIELD,**  
English Ambassador with the Emperor.

Announces receipt of a letter from Wingfield, together with one from the King of England, to which last encloses a reply. Perceived by Wingfield's letter that when he quitted England King Henry believed that there was a Venetian ambassador at the Emperor's court. Protests that the State has always been most desirous of peace with the Emperor, to whom they have sent many letters and messengers, requesting him to receive their ambassadors, who, however, could never obtain audience. Does not doubt of the Emperor forming some good resolve, were he acquainted with the Signory's affairs; but while the Signory does not fail to offer ample and honourable terms, they refuse to accept such as are harsh and oppressive. Being unable to make any agreement, the State is compelled, not to wage war with the Emperor, but to defend their own. Are nevertheless constantly firm in their wish for peace, which they have empowered the Pope to negotiate with the Emperor, though nothing is as yet settled; only vouch for their own wish for peace. Attribute the impediments to those who, for their own private interests, prefer seeing the Emperor at war rather than at peace.

Requests him (Wingfield) to beseech the Emperor to spare afflicted Italy, and to put an end to war and destruction, and that he (Wingfield) will also urge his King to favour the cause of the Signory and effect peace.

[*Latin.*]

March 1.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 46.

**378. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to KING HENRY VIII.**

Acknowledges receipt of his letter of 22nd of January last, whereby perceived his unchangeable love for the Republic, and although the contents of the letter would have troubled them had not their own consciences borne witness for them, assure him that they were glad to receive it. Part of it they attribute to an untrue statement. Of his wisdom he exhorts the State not to wage war with the Emperor, but by accepting peace to yield to what the times render necessary. Reply that they do not wage war with the Emperor, but that, having made a three years' truce with him much to the Republic's detriment, he made war on them at its very

\* Sanuto gives the summary of the King's letter in Italian, but states distinctly that the original was in Latin.







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commencement, without any reason, so that they were compelled to defend themselves. Have nevertheless by all possible means sought a reconciliation, but in vain. Moreover made another truce for eight months, disbursing 50,000 ducats, but before its expiration their towns were attacked by those who were pledged to defend them, and made over to the Emperor. Notwithstanding this, have always desired peace with him. That they have offered honourable terms, and did not refuse such as were even harsh and vexatious, is testified by the King, by all the princes of Germany, and the whole of Christendom. Last of all, gave full powers to Pope Leo X. to make peace or truce, but without result; not, however, by fault of the Emperor, but from the craft of others who prefer war to concord amongst Christians. Refer the King to the Pope and to the Cardinal of York, to testify that they were ready not only to accept a rational peace, but even to submit to hard and onerous conditions. Aware of the King's merited authority with the Emperor, request him to exercise it in their favour.

Ayes, 174. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 1.

[*Latin*, 62 lines.]

March 3.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlviii. p. 48.

**379. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.**

Enclose copies of letters written to them apparently by the King of England, and forwarded express by his ambassador resident with the Emperor. Transmit likewise their reply. Communicate the same to the Cardinal of York, and request him, as he is most thoroughly acquainted with the Signory's sincerity, and with the wrongs and injuries done her, to persevere in his usual good offices with the King.

Ayes, 15. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 21 lines.]

March 3.  
Lettere del Col-  
legio (Secreta).  
File no. 3.

**380. The DOGE and COLLEGE to ANDREA BADOER.**

On the 1st of March received a letter from the English ambassador at the Emperor's court, and also one written apparently by the King of England himself. Although convinced that both letters were written at the suit and request of others, and were based on false information, have nevertheless answered the King; and send him (Badoer) copies of what was written both to the King and to the ambassador. He is to present the original to the King, assuring him of the truth of its contents, and requesting him to assume the very just defence of the Signory, and effect their reconciliation with the Emperor.

[*Italian*.]

March 6.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 6.

**381. MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.**

Dated Blois, 21st February.

The King was mustering a very numerous army against the English, who were making great preparations to invade France. He had 4,000 spears, and intended to raise 40,000 infantry, 4,000 lansquenets having already arrived. The negotiations with the





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Switzers continued; and the King told him he relied on the Signory's never doing him so great a wrong as to make terms with the Emperor, with whom he was told the State were negotiating, as he, on his part, would never desert the Signory, but attend to Italian affairs.

[*Italian.*]

March 6.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. pp. 6, 7.

**382. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

Dated 7th February.

Concerning the great preparations making to invade France. The French fleet had very nearly succeeded in burning that of England.

The King had told him that he had written to the Signory to make terms with the Emperor, whom he had also told to do the like.

The King had been ill of the measles (*fersa*), and did not give audience. An ambassador from the Pope was in London, but he had not yet been presented.\* The King had created one of his barons Duke of [Suffolk], and meant to give him Madam Margaret for wife.

Badoer complains he had received no letters, and still less money for his maintenance; requests pecuniary supplies.

[*Italian.*]

March 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 25.

**383. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.**

Dated Rome, 10th March.

It was said that possibly the King of France would marry a sister of the King of England, and that France had [subsidized] the Switzers.

[*Italian.*]

March 20.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 41.

**384. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.**

Dated Rome, 15th March.

On Sunday afternoon, the 12th, three Portuguese ambassadors entered Rome in great state. The Pope was in the castle, at the window, to see the entry; and on arriving at the castle, the ambassadors caused the elephant which they had brought with them to make an obeisance to the Pope, and with its trunk it took water and wetted the crowd; and one of the ambassadors wore a hat covered with pearls and jewels, worth 12,000 crowns. Letters were received from France, dated the 5th of March, to the effect that the King was coming from Blois to Paris, to prepare an army against the English, that an agreement was being negotiated between him, the Emperor, and Spain, and that he would give his second daughter to the second son of Burgundy (Archduke Ferdinand); but the Magnifico (Julian de' Medici) said this marriage would not take place.

[*Italian.*]

\* Giovanni Pietro Caraffa. See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. no. 4727, p. 735.





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March 20.  
Mantuan  
Archives.

### 385. GIOVANNI RATTO to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

On the 20th March, at a place called Hampton [Court], four miles from London, he presented the horses to the King, who was so much pleased that, had the Marquis given him a kingdom, he could not have been more delighted; and went from one nobleman to another, saying, "What think you of these mares? They were sent to me by my cousin the Marquis of Mantua." The King was quite astounded at seeing the mares in action, and said to the noblemen on the spot that he had never beheld better animals.

The French Duke of Longueville, who was captured at Terouenne, was present at the time, and he told the King that there were no such valuable mares at the court of the King of France. He (Ratto) said to the King that if the mares were less good than the King deserved, yet he besought him to accept the loving service of the Marquis, who had shown all the mares to Master Thomas Sieno (*sic*), the King's servant, requesting he would take such as pleased him, to gratify the King's taste, but that Master Thomas declined doing anything of the sort.

He (Ratto) added that the Marquis had a stud of Barbary mares, of "*miche*" and of jennets, and of great mares, which he offered to the King, together with his territories and children, and his own person. Thereupon the King desired him (Ratto) to return many thanks to the Marquis in his name, enquiring what he could do to please him. He (Ratto) replied that the Marquis was the King's good servant.

The Queen was present during this conversation, so he (Ratto) put "the bright bay" through his paces in the Spanish fashion, exhibiting the horse to the admiration of everybody; and the King said to him, "Is not this the best horse?" Was answered in the affirmative, and was much gratified; and approaching the horse patted him, saying "So ho, my minion."\*

After this, the King caused him (Ratto) to be asked secretly what things would please the Marquis, and he replied nothing but the King's love; though his intention was evinced of purchasing some hobbies, and three couple of staunch hounds.

P. S. no. 1.—Having put "the bright bay" through his paces, he presented the scimitar to the King, who took it in his hands, and asked the noblemen present what they thought of it, and took pleasure in examining it; and he (Ratto) told the King that the Marquis would fain have made a suitable present, but sent the scimitar as a specimen of oriental workmanship, and the King was much pleased.

P. S. no. 2.—Report of a negotiation for peace. The King demands Gascony and Picardy; wherefore it is supposed that no adjustment will take place. In London there is an ambassador from the King of France, and also one from the Pope, who is said to be endeavouring to make peace between the two crowns.

\* Mention is made of this horse in the "*Fioretto delle Croniche di Mantova*," p. 72. He was a Mantuan "barb" or race horse, and the Marquis had been offered for him his weight in silver, but preferred making a present of the animal to Henry VIII.







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Giovanni Colla is here as ambassador from the Duke of Milan, and, from what he (Ratto) can learn, seeks to obtain the hand of the Duke of Burgundy's sister for the Duke of Milan; he has resided during some three months at the court of the Duke of Burgundy, and, as he (Ratto) understands, is come to England to effect the marriage between the King of England's sister and the Archduke of Burgundy.

London, 20th March 1514.

*Signed*: "Zoane Ratto."

[*Italian.*]

March 21.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 44.

**386.** DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Dated Blois, 4th March.

The King was going to Paris to provide against the English. The marriage of his daughter, Madame Genevre (*sic*), to the brother of the Archduke (Charles of Burgundy), would not take place.

The King of England had had the small pox, but was cured; and it was said he meant to invade France. The Flemings apparently were not satisfied with the English.

[*Italian.*]

March 25.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 50.

**387.** VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 21st March.

On the preceding day in the afternoon, the Pope went with 22 cardinals to the Belveder, to receive the presents sent by the King of Portugal, namely, the elephant, the panther (*la lionza*), and the other things; which elephant, on Sunday the 19th, performed many feats on the "Piazza del Popolo," and many persons came to see it. On the evening of the 20th, letters were received from Sion, announcing the truce between France and Spain for one year, and it was believed that the agreement which was in close negotiation with the Switzers would take place. Also there was some negotiation for agreement on foot with England.

[*Italian.*]

March 27.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvi. p. 125.

**388.** The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

The truces concluded between Spain and France were to the satisfaction of the State, because the King of France is freed in that quarter; and it may be supposed that on this account the King of England will agree to a truce, and that the King of France will now be enabled to attend to the Italian undertaking.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 36 lines.*]

March 31.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 63.

**389.** VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 28th March.

On Sunday the 26th, in chapel, the Pope gave the "Rose" (which he gives annually) to the Portuguese ambassadors.

The truce had assuredly been stipulated for another year between France and Spain, the latter promising that the Emperor would ratify it. The King of Spain to have the kingdom of Navarre; the King







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of France to have the whole of the territory of the Duke of Milan for his life; and after his death such territory to pass to his daughter, married to the second-born of Burgundy, who was then in Spain; the Emperor to have the towns of the Venetian Signory, and the King of England to retire from France.

[*Italian.*]

April 5.

390. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to HENRY VIII.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii.  
pp. 84, 85.

Dated the Ducal Palace, 5th April 1514.

Alludes to a recent letter expressing the desire of the State to make a reasonable peace with the Emperor. Whilst the Pope was negotiating this peace, complains that an army of Germans descended into the Friuli, laying waste both town and country, dragging men to torture and death; and that in one village they scooped out the eyes and amputated the forefingers of 100 innocent maidens and wretched peasants.\*

The State deemed it a duty to succour their noble Hieronimo Savorgnano, who was besieged in the castle of Osopo, and therefore the Captain General Alviano, not only relieved the place, but routed the enemy.†

[*Latin.*]

April 8.

391. LETTERS received by the SIGNORY from ROME, dated 4th and 5th April.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 90.

The Pope showed the Venetian ambassador the publication of the truce, made on behalf of the Queen [Juana of Castile?] at Madrid on the — March. The truce to commence on the 13th March for one year; made between the King of France and the King of Spain. The latter was apparently commissioned to make terms by the Emperor, and he [the King of Spain] also included the King of England; the King of France including the King of Scotland. It was stipulated that the King of France was not to interfere in the Milanese.

[*Italian.*]

April 11.

392. NOTE by MARIN SANUTO, that on the 10th of April,

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 98.

Hieronimo Norlingh, a merchant resident at Venice, received news from Flanders, dated 25th March, that 10,000 English had arrived and landed at Mechlin (*sic*), that by Easter the King in person would cross with the rest of the army to attack France, and that the Duke of Guelders had taken a town in Brabant.

\* Incredible as it may appear, the Croat Count Christopher Frangipani took credit to himself for this diabolical treatment of the inhabitants of Mozana; for when captured, he said they had done much mischief at Marano; that the Bishop of Laybach and four other imperial councillors therefore proposed hanging them, and that he commuted the sentence in this horrible manner; adding that all the eyes were brought to him in great number in a basin, &c. (See Extracts from Sanuto's Diaries, published for the Academy of Agram by Don Giuseppe Valentinelli, librarian of St. Mark's, p. 415.) By the registers of the Senate, it is seen that the unfortunate victims of Mozana were provided for by the State, a fund being set apart for the blind there.

† This letter of 50 lines, although transcribed by Sanuto in his diaries, does not exist in the Senate's Registers; but the minute is preserved in file No. 3, "Lettere del Collegio," and vouches for the authenticity of the transcript made by the diarist.





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Memorandum by the Diarist, that this intelligence reached him through the Pasqualigi of London, though it was not believed, as the Signory had received letters from the ambassador in France, dated the 21st, which contained no allusion to the circumstance.

[*Italian.*]

April 19.

**393.** The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvi. p. 142.

The Pope uses his best offices both with the Switzers and with England; and the King of France should accede to his wishes. Ayes 26. Noes 3. Neutrals 0.

[*Italian, 24 lines.*]

April 19.

**394.** The SAME to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Misti  
Consiglio X.,  
v. xxxvi. p. 142.

Are writing in very strong terms to Rome, urging the Pope without delay to use his best offices with France, England, and the Switzers.

[*Italian, 49 lines.*]

April 21.

**395.** APPEARANCE in the COLLEGE of FRANCESCO PASQUALIGO,

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 115.

announcing the receipt of letters from his brother Lorenzo in England, to the effect that the King was making greater preparations than ever to invade France, so that there would be neither peace nor truce between the two crowns.

[*Italian.*]

April 26.

**396.** LORENZO PASQUALIGO to his Brothers ALVISE and FRANCESCO in Venice.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 125.

Dated London, 16th March 1514.

Contradicts a report current at Venice, on the authority of news from Rome, that the King would make an agreement with France. On the contrary, he was exerting himself more than ever to be ready to cross by Easter, and in greater force than last year; and should Spain make truce with France, the English would take it amiss, though it would not signify, as they were quite sufficient to rout the French, as would be seen.

Thanks to the English fleet the Channel was free from corsairs, as the King had always ships everywhere, and for fear of them the French dared not put to sea.

April 26.

**397.** The SAME to the SAME.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 125.

Dated London, 24th March 1514.

The Parliament had adjourned, and the Lords and the King had sent to the aliens of all nations, demanding a pecuniary contribution for his Majesty's passage across with the army. Pasqualigo and his countrymen had audience of the King, in the presence of the Lords of the Parliament,\* and objected to the utmost against this, on the plea of its never having been customary for aliens to pay any war tax. The King spoke them fair, and they departed. Subsequently, on the day the letter was written, the King sent to tell

\* "*In camera di sua Maestà, e lì era li Signori del Parlamento.*"





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them by his attendant William (*scudier Vielmo*) that it had been decreed that the Venetians and all the other aliens were to pay, for, as they availed themselves of the country and gained money there, it was only fair they should aid the increase of the realm and the honour of his Majesty, who loved them so dearly.\*

The Venetians would have to disburse at least 150*l.*, and prays God it may not be more. The sum would have to be paid out of his own purse, as the factory had no funds, the only Venetian merchants there being himself, Duodo, and Bavarino. As they do but little business, the quotas paid were small. The island had offered to pay the King 600,000*l.*; one half within a month, and the remainder on his embarkation, which was to take place after Easter, though the greater part of the army would embark before. These facts do not indicate peace, and they must not think of it; and as they had written to him that France was strengthening herself, to show England her face, he answers she will be puzzled to escape rather than to give battle. The English (*sti Ingliscimani*), according to report, had given the King more money and more men than last year. He was told by his friend William (*Vielmo*), who constantly conversed with his Majesty, and undressed and dressed him, that the King said he should have some 70,000 foot and 4,000 horse from the island, and had now written to have from 6,000 to 8,000 men engaged from Burgundy, Hainault, Flanders, and Germany; besides these, there would be 10,000 archers and 1,000 musketeers; the rest infantry and arbalast men. So that in England nothing was talked about but arms and this invasion, in which the English took part so willingly, that it was incredible; whereas at Venice an adjustment was hoped for.

[*Italian.*]

April 26.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. pp. 127,  
128.

398. DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Dated Paris, 7th April.

Assurances given him by the King that he would make no agreement, save to the advantage of the Signory. The King had two negotiations on foot; the one to marry the sister of the King of England, the other to give his second daughter to the second-born of Burgundy, Don Ferdinand, on condition that for 13 years he (the King?) was to rule the Milanese.

He had letters from the Cardinal St. Malo, who resided at St. Malo, near the English pale, stating that the Scots had given the English a defeat of some sort, and captured a lieutenant.

The King has three armies; one in Dauphigné, commanded by the Duke of Bourbon; another in Savoy, under Gian Giacomo Triulzi, on the borders of Italy; and the third against England commanded by Monseigneur ———.

[*Italian.*]

\* As seen by Mr. Brewer's Calendar (vol. i. p. 758, no. 4848), Parliament was prorogued on the 4th March 1514, to 7th November. Nineteen Acts of Parliament are quoted, and no. 17 forbids *strangers* to buy leather, except in the open market, but nothing is said about the war tax to which they were subjected.







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April 27.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvi. p. 151.**399. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

Have received letters from Rome of the 22nd and 23rd, whereby the Pope announces he has written to the King of France his intention of leaguings with him for the defence of their mutual territories, and promising with all speed to affect an agreement between him and the Switzers and England. On a favourable reply the Pope will aid the most Christian King by all means, and even by excommunications.

[*Italian, 33 lines.*]

May 1.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 139.**400. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

Dated London, 1st April, taken out of cipher.

Details his conversations with the Bishop of Winchester about the affairs of the world, and how the Signory had made peace with Sultan Selim; also the answer given by him to the Bishop.

He had spoken with the King, who wants to go and conquer Jerusalem, and told him he would take it with 25,000 men. Also discussed the agreement between the Emperor and the Signory, and [spoke] about the King of France, and other particulars.

Note by Sanuto that the letter gave no account of what the English were doing, whether they would invade France or not; neither did Badoer mention whether there was any muster of troops and of a fleet: which silence seemed strange to the whole College, and he was much blamed.

[*Italian.*]

May 6.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 145.**401. LORENZO PASQUALIGO, merchant of Venice in England, to his brothers ALVISE and FRANCESCO.**

Dated London, 11th April 1514.

The King of Spain had again made truce with France, and betrayed England for the second time. Were the Catholic King a good Christian, he would not act thus; but his turn will come some day, and may God grant this.

The King's passage across will be delayed longer than he expected, by reason of many negotiations on foot in every quarter.

Announces the arrival on that day from Lisbon of letters to the King from the King of Portugal, exhorting him to march against the Moors of Syria, to obtain the Holy Land; and this because two caravels, of 550 tons burden each, had arrived from Colocut. They were freighted for the most part with pepper, gingers, and sandal wood, but had not one single pound of cloves, nor was there an ounce of cloves in all Lisbon. An ambassador from Prester John (*Presto Janni*) was on board these caravals with a letter in Chaldean, requesting King Emanuel to send him a considerable armada; he would supply it with men, provisions, and money to any amount desired. This armada would sail towards the Red Sea, and disembark the forces, he going over land with a considerable army to effect a junction with them; and then they would proceed together to conquer the Holy Sepulchre.

The letter was in Chaldean, and translated into Latin, so that he saw and read it; its expressions resembling those of St. Paul in





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his Epistles, with so much Christian charity and faith that it would be impossible to speak better. The ambassador brought a bit of the true cross as a present for the King of Portugal.\*

[*Italian.*]

May 6.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 146.

402. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 2nd May.

Advices received from England by the merchants, about negotiations for the agreement between the two crowns. The King of England requires France to give him a certain sum of gold for the expenses he has incurred, and the King of France answered angrily, that if he wanted the money he might come and take it in France. The King of England also demanded Boulogne, and France offered to refer their disputes to the Pope.

The Pope had been unwell, but not in bed. Had taken a purge, but was convalescent, having on that day signed documents. On Friday the 5th a fresh session of the Council [of the Lateran] would be held, for the reform of the Church, so that henceforth the priests would fare badly. In point of fact, it was necessary to stay the proceedings of the priests, most especially of those at Rome.

[*Italian.*]

May 12.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 154.

403. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 9th May.

Advices received by way of Milan, that the English were to invade France, but had not yet commenced crossing.

[*Italian.*]

May 15.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 8.

404. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Had received his letters of the 10th, 11th, and 12th.

Urge despatch, lest the most Christian King take another course. Had invariably maintained that the security of the French crown consisted in an union with the Pope, and of the authority and power exercised by his Holiness with the King of England and the Switzers.

[*Italian, 76 lines.*]

May 16.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 160.

405. LORENZO PASQUALIGO, merchant of Venice, to his brothers ALVISE and FRANCESCO.

Dated London, 22nd April 1514.

Nothing more was said about the King's invasion of France. On the contrary the King was much exasperated against his father-in-law the King of Spain for having made truce with France, without his knowledge or consent. Moreover, negotiations were on foot between the Kings of England and France, the heralds going constantly to and fro.

\* Concerning this embassy from Prester John, see also Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 595, no. 4173, 6th June 1513.





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May 16.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 160.

**406. LORENZO PASQUALIGO**, merchant of Venice, to his brothers **ALVISE** and **FRANCESCO**.

Dated London, 24th April.

Letters from Rome, dated 5th April, had been received in London, announcing the rout of the Germans in the Friuli by Alviano, which was a judgment upon them for not observing the three months truce made by the Pope, during which they went to ravage the Friuli. In London everybody rejoiced at this rout, knowing that the Germans had broken faith to Venice, as they did to the King of England, through the truce they made in conjunction with Spain without his Majesty's knowledge. Should the Turks come, as expected, the Spaniards would have to retire. Some are of opinion there would be a truce between England and France: others anticipate a peace. Should it be a truce it would last for a year. Will write again in two or three weeks, when everything would transpire. In the meanwhile the King was ready to cross with so large an army, and so much artillery and money, that he would doubtless have made himself master of France. Suspects that on this account the Emperor and the King of Spain (*sti Signori*) made the truce, and broke their faith as aforesaid. At any rate King Henry had done himself great honour, and kept faith single handed. The letter written to the King by the Signory was much to the purpose. Urge the Signory to write to the King frequently, as by a mere trifle they might retain so powerful a friend.

[*Italian.*]

May 17.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 161.

**407. TRANSMISSION** to ROME by the COLLEGE, on the evening of the 16th April, of the advices from England, together with money for the levy of infantry.

[*Italian.*]

May 19.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 167.

**408. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR** in ROME to the STATE.

Dated 15th May.

Conversations with the Pope concerning the League. He was awaiting the agreement between France and England, which was being negotiated.

[*Italian.*]

May 19.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 167.

**409. VETOR LIPPOMANO** to ———.

Dated Rome, 15th May.

Letters received there from France by merchants. The King was making preparations, and would be in Italy by the middle of July, because for this year the English would not invade France. If the French came, the Pope would turn in favour of Venice.

[*Italian.*]

May 19.  
Misti Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 11.

**410. The COUNCIL OF TEN** to the Ambassador **DANDOLO** in France.

Recommend union with the Pope, as a guarantee for France against the common enemies.

This alliance would augment the resources of France and Venice, and secure King Lewis against the King of England, who, from the





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advices received by the State, depends entirely on the will of the Pope.

[*Italian*, 50 lines.]

May 21. 411. MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassador in France, to the STATE.  
Sanuto Diaries, Dated Paris, 3rd May.  
v. xviii. p. 171. The agreement with England was being negotiated, and was to be signed on the 5th.

[*Italian*.]

May 21. 412. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.  
Sanuto Diaries, Dated Rome, 18th May.  
v. xviii. p. 171. Should the King of England invade France, King Lewis will give his daughter in marriage [to the Archduke Ferdinand?]. If the King of England does not attack, King Lewis will assuredly undertake the Italian expedition.

[*Italian*.]

May 22. 413. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.  
Sanuto Diaries, Dated 27th April.  
v. xviii. p. 173. The King was not making any preparations to invade France. Wanted the Signory to send him four galleys at his own cost, that he might go to Jerusalem.\* He (Badoer) had spoken with the Bishop of Winchester, who, in the course of conversation, blamed the King of Spain for having made truce with France without the knowledge of King Henry. The Bishop paid his (Badoer's) expenses, as he had neither money nor the means of procuring any.

[*Italian*.]

May 29. 414. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.  
Sanuto Diaries, Dated Rome, 25th May.  
v. xviii. p. 188. The magnifico Julian [de' Medici], told him of advices from France that King Lewis was sending one of his chief noblemen, the General of Normandy,† as ambassador to the King of England, and hoped the agreement would take place.

Also that there were letters from Spain, announcing the adhesion of the King of England to the truce made by the King of Spain with the King of France.

[*Italian*.]

June 1. 415. PIERO LANDO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the STATE.  
Sanuto Diaries, Dated 27th and 28th May; read in the presence of the chiefs of the Ten.  
v. xviii. p. 195.

General report in Venice that the news were good, and that the business was settled. Though (adds Sanuto) no result was visible, the courier said that all over Rome it was reported that a league had been made between the Pope, France, Venice, the Florentines, all Italy, and the Switzers; and that the conclusion was expected of the agreement in course of negotiation between France and England.

\* "Mandasse li 4 galie a so speze per andar in Jerusalem."

† Thomas Bohier.





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Others said that a marriage was being negotiated between the sister of the King of England, widow of the King of Scotland, and the King of France. For certain it was known that the General of Normandy, one of the chief noblemen of France, had crossed over to England to conclude this agreement.

[*Italian.*]

June 1.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 195.

**416.** VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated 28th May.

The Pope was waiting to see what would take place between England and France, and according to the success of France in Italy so would he join her and the Signory.

[*Italian.*]

June 1.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 195.

**417.** PAULO GIOVIO, Doctor of Como, to MARIN SANUTO.

Dated Rome, 28th May.

Receipt of letters from Flanders, mentioning the arrival of the ambassadors from the Switzers, on their way to the King of England, to league with him against France.

[*Italian.*]

June 3.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 201.

**418.** ENGLISH WOOL.

Motion made by the "Sages for the Orders" to prolong the term assigned for the importation of wools from England and Flanders. Permission for the importation of cloths and tin during one month after the auction of the Flanders galleys.

Ayes, 159. Noes, 2.

[*Italian.*]

June 3.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 203.

**419.** VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 31st May.

Receipt by the bankers at Rome of letters from England, thus:— That the agreement or peace between England and France would be effected, and France would send troops into Italy.

[*Italian.*]

June 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 204.

**420.** DANDOLO, Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Dated Paris, 18th May.

Publication of the truce with Spain and the espousals of Madame Claude and Monseigneur D'Angoulême.\*

Reported conclusion of the agreement between France and England.

[*Italian.*]

June 7.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 24.

**421.** The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Rejoiced greatly at the mission of the Bishop of Tricarico (Lodovico Canossa) for the adjustment between England and France,

\* By Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 825, no. 5164, it is seen that this marriage took place on the 18th May.





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and hope that the Bishop, being a prudent and very sage person, will bring the negotiations to a favourable and speedy conclusion.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 70 lines.]

June 9.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 215.

422. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Dated London, 11th May.

The King would not invade France, and was negotiating an agreement, which it was said would be concluded.

Urges the Signory to send the Flanders galleys, in number four, as the King would give 1,000 ducats per galley; and should he (Badoer) receive the information a month beforehand, would obtain safeconducts.

[*Italian*.]

June 10.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 218.

423. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the STATE.

The agreement between England and France had been concluded, namely, a truce for 18 months; during which interval negotiations for peace would be conducted.

[*Italian*.]

June 10.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 218.

424. VERO LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 7th June.

The agreement between France and England would take place. Monseigneur the General of Normandy had received a safeconduct, and was to cross over to England on the 25th May. France would forthwith send troops into Italy, leaguely with the Switzers, the Pope, and the Signory. The Cardinal San Severino held daily conferences with the English ambassador.

[*Italian*.]

June 10.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 218.

425. NEWS heard and recorded by MARIN SANUTO.

That the agreement between France and England had been concluded, and merely awaited signature. A truce for 18 months, the term being stated by some to be two years, during which they place themselves in the Pope's hands for the settlement of their disputes.

The King of France gives the King of England 150,000 ducats, and the usual tribute (*e il tributo solito*), and the town of Cambrai (*sic, query Tournai*) will give him annually ——— thousand ducats.

The King of France is not to come into Italy; but on the other hand is to have Genoa and Asti, the Duke of Milan paying him a yearly tax (*censo*) of ——— thousand ducats. An English bishop was coming as ambassador to Rome, the King of France sending another to negotiate this agreement and peace; espousals, &c. were also negotiating; and the General of Normandy, who was going as ambassador to England, had arrived at Calais, and crossed over to the island.

[*Italian*.]





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June 13.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 29.**426. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.**

The agreement between the Pope, France, and the Signory, might be considered settled, and the like would speedily ensue with the King of England; a thing, in their opinion, much to the purpose. They hope by the first letters from France to hear of this favourable result.

Ayes, 10. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[Italian, 87 lines.]

June 15.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. pp. 229,  
230.**427. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.**

Dated Rome, 12th June.

Letters had been received from France that the agreement would be made with England, whither the King had sent another [ambassador], Monsr. de Bruxe (*sic*). Some said the King of England insists on 200,000 ducats from France, who will only give 150,000. Some say England does not permit France to interfere with Milan, and undertake the Italian expedition, but others say the contrary.

[Italian.]

June 15.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 229.**428. VENETIAN CONSUL at NAPLES to the STATE.**

Dated 10th June.

Capture by the Turkish galleys and fustes off Leghorn of an English ship, bound to that port with merchandize.

[Italian.]

June 16.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 31.**429. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

Understand that should the agreement with the English be effected, France will undertake the expedition into Italy.

Ayes, 28. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[Italian, 62 lines.]

June 17.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 234.**430. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.**

Dated 14th June.

On the 20th June, at Rome, the agreement between England and France was to be concluded, nothing else remaining to be done (*qual altro non si aspetta*).

[Italian.]

June 23.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 249.**431. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.**

Dated Rome, June 20.

By the Pope's order the Bishop of Tricarico was gone from France to England, as his ambassador; and it was said the King of France demands 200,000 ducats a month [of the Pope for the seizure of Naples?] for the expense he incurs.

Note by Sanuto, that the letters from Rome were said to be "good," and that the General of Normandy had crossed over to England, and been most honourably received by the King; and that the agreement would shortly take place as desired.

[Italian.]





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June 27.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 257.

**432. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.**

Dated Rome, 24th June.

No letters from England, though it was said the King demanded of France a million and a half of ducats and Terouenne; yet was it believed the agreement would take place.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 257.

**433. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

Dated ———.

Arrival of a messenger from the Pope \* with the sword and hat. Great honour was paid him, and the ceremonies were performed in St. Paul's Church, in the presence of the King, who afterwards gave a dinner to all the ambassadors, including Badoer and an ambassador from the Duke of ———†, with whom he conversed. Mentions the topics, adding that, as this ambassador had no attendants, he accompanied him to his dwelling, &c. Demands pecuniary supply for his maintenance.

[*Italian.*]

June 27.  
Mantuan  
Archives.

**434. GIOVANNI RATTO to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.**

In a former letter announced his presentation of the horses to the King, and the great pleasure thus caused to his Majesty. Three days later the King rode them, and was delighted with them, saying that he had never ridden better trained horses, and that for years he had not received a more agreeable present. The King inquired of him what would please the Marquis. Ratto answered that the Marquis merely sought his Majesty's love. Search is being made for hobbies and dogs to be sent as a gift to the Marquis.

Hopes to be dismissed speedily. No news. General report announced peace rather than war. Has heard from an Italian in the service of the King, that the King of France means to go into Italy.

London, 27th June 1514.

[*Italian.*]

June 28.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 259.

**435. PEACE with ENGLAND.**

Announcement made by the French ambassador in Venice (Bishop of Asti) to the Signory, that he hoped the agreement between his King and England would soon take effect.

[*Italian.*]

June 30.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 262.

**436. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the STATE.**

Dated 20 May.

The General of Normandy on his arrival in England had audience of the King, who, in reply to his overtures for an agreement between the two crowns, demanded of France a million and a half of ducats, and three towns, namely, Terouenne, Boulogne, and

\* The name of this messenger was Leonardo Spinelli. See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. no. 5111, p. 810.

† Bavaria? See *post*, date July 12.





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St. Quentin; whereupon the General replied that this was not an agreement, but that his King would make peace, and give the usual tribute. King Henry then rejoined, "Well, if he chooses to marry my sister, the widow of the King of Scotland, the agreement shall be made."\* The General then sent an express to France, so that King Lewis was meditating matrimony, and the agreement was considered certain.

#### 437. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the STATE.

Dated 24th May.

They were awaiting the result of the negotiations for the agreement with England, which it was expected would certainly take place.

[*Italian.*]

June 30.

Mantuan  
Archives.

#### 438. GIOVANNI RATTO to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

During four or six days the King rode both "Altobello" and "Governatore," and liked them much, but preferred "Governatore." The King told him that in his days he had never ridden a horse that pleased him more than "Governatore." "*Duca de Millor, il quale è gran Chuer*" (*sic; query, Lord Steward*), who was the first person about the King, has been charged with the despatch of his business, and asked him in secret what the Marquis would like. Replied, Nothing but the King's love. One day the King mounted him (Ratto) on a horse given to the King by the late Duke of Urbino, to see whether he knew what horses were. Put the horse through his paces, to the astonishment of the King, who said he thought he (Ratto) must have ridden the horse before. The King then asked him whether, without displeasing the Marquis, he could enter his service, promising good pay. Replied that he would never do any wrong to the Marquis, whose servant he was, and that he would act thus were he in the service of his Majesty, whom he preferred serving at Mantua rather than in England.

London, 30th June.

[*Italian.*]

July 1.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 276.

439. ANNOUNCEMENT made to the VENETIAN COLLEGE by the French ambassador, the Bishop of Asti, that he had received letters from Rome to the effect that it was hoped the agreement between his King and England would take place shortly. A marriage was being negotiated, and on the conclusion of the agreement, his King would attend to the affairs of Italy.

[*Italian.*]

July 3.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 280.

#### 440. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 30th June.

The agreement with England had not yet been concluded, but, according to report, would take place; as likewise the marriage to the King's sister, who had been promised to the Archduke of

\* "Hor! Sil vol la mia sorella per moglie che fò mojer dil Re di Scozia, l'accordo sarà fatto."





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Burgundy, the King of France taking her, and not the Queen widow of Scotland; and he would then attend to the affairs of Italy.

[Italian.]

July 10.

441. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 293.

Dated 14th June.

The King had launched a large ship of — butts, called “the —.” High mass was sung, the King and Queen being both present. All the ambassadors were invited, with the exception of himself, which he considered strange, but he understood the King had been told that the Signory had sent as ambassador the greatest rogue in Venice (*il più tristo homo di Venezia*), so he was held in small account. Complaints of not being supplied with funds for his maintenance.

[Italian.]

July 12.

442. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 301.

Dated Rome, 3rd and 4th July.

News expected from France of the matrimonial alliance with the King of England; and it was said the French had commenced crossing the Alps, though this was untrue; nor would the King send troops until after the conclusion of the agreement, though bets were taken *in banchi* [the Exchange at Rome], 25 to 100, that in the course of August the French would be in Italy, and the news was expected in four days.

[Italian.]

July 12.

443. ——— to THEODORE TRIULZI at PADUA.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 300.

Dated Paris, 29th June.

The agreement with England and the marriage would certainly take place. Peace with England would be made at a much cheaper rate [than at first demanded], the King of England contenting himself with 560,000 ducats, and the two towns of Tournai and Terouenne.

[Italian.]

July 12.

444. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 300.

Dated London, 21st June.

The French ambassador, the General of Normandy, was there negotiating the agreement, the conclusion of which was considered certain.

[Italian.]

July 12.

445. NICOLO DI FAVRI, of Treviso, attached to the Venetian Embassy in England, to ———.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii.  
pp. 302–305.

Dated London, 15th June 1514.

On the 17th May the Count of Moëruss arrived there with letters.





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The French, with a considerable force, had attacked Guisnes,\* 12 miles from Calais, thinking to besiege and take the castle; but the English sallied forth, and repulsed them with much slaughter.

Two months ago, King Henry commenced sending troops across daily, it being reported he would soon follow in person, and was to have gone over in May to celebrate espousals. It was asserted he would muster 80,000 most efficient men.

On the 19th May the Pope's ambassador (*sic*) the Florentine Prothonotary, Dom [Leonardo Spinelli], arrived there with the sword and cap of maintenance. He was met by sundry lords in most excellent array, with some 400 horse. The streets were crowded with spectators, eager to behold the ambassador, the sword, and the hat.

These insignia were borne aloft before the Prothonotary by one of his attendants, the cap being on the point of the sword, which was held upright. The weapon was long, with a gilded guard and scabbard, and the cap seemed to be of purple satin, resembling in shape the crown of the caps worn by the Albanian light cavalry; it was a foot long, with a turned-up brim, covered with embroidery and pearls, with sundry small pendant tails [of ermine].†

The King was in London in the Bishop's palace adjoining St. Paul's Cathedral, the two buildings being separated by a small square (*campiello*), through which, on Sunday the 21st May, a grand procession moved. The Venetian ambassador was invited, and on arriving at the Bishop's palace, found the King there, and also the nobility in their robes of state. Cordial greeting was given to Badoer at the head of the stairs by the "lords," who were as familiar with him as if he had been born an Englishman. When at length the King came forth, Badoer presented a letter he had just received from the State, but his Majesty said, "Let us now go to the holy procession and mass, after which we will dine and then confer together;" so the march commenced accordingly. The position of the episcopal palace and the cathedral might be likened to that of St. Mark's Tower and Church; and on this occasion, either for greater pomp, or to avoid contact with the crowd by reason of the plague, his Majesty went this distance on horseback, riding a most beautiful palfrey, "as black as velvet," the nobility preceding him in pairs; the ambassador Badoer, as a mark of distinction, coming last of all immediately in advance of the King, arm-in-arm (*a brazo*) with the Lord High Admiral (Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey), whose father the Lord Treasurer had recently been made a duke.

On arriving at the portal of St. Paul's, the King dismounted, and walked to the high altar, where the papal envoy stood, with the sword and cap. Advancing to meet his Majesty, he exhibited his credentials, and then delivered a brief oration in praise of him,

\* This attack seems to have been made at the close of April, or early in May. See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 798.

† "*Cordelle*" (*sic*; *codelle*?) "*che picava zoso*." The pendent ornaments were not strings or lacets (*cordelle*), but little tails (*codelle*) of ermine. The description corresponds with the representation of English "caps of maintenance," and a *steel* cap of this shape exists in the Correr Museum, but despoiled of its satin, pearls, and ermine.







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which being ended, the King made a sign to a priest, a doctor (Dr. Tunstall),\* to reply, as he did most excellently on the sudden, returning thanks to the Pope.

The King next knelt at the high altar, and two noblemen girded him with the sword; and on his head they placed the cap, which by reason of its length covered his whole face; both sword and cap being emblematical, for it was not intended that he should wear either one or the other.

The procession then commenced making the entire circuit of the interior of the church. It was "a fine sight to see the King, and the handsome nobility of England (*e quelli signori che sono belli homeni*) in most pompous array with their silk gowns of various sorts, lined with sables and lynx's fur, and egret's down" (*d'azineti*, for *garzeti*?). This last lining, of "*zineti*," was very expensive in England. Some of the nobles wore gowns of another sort, the material resembling silk, of two colours in chequers; others gowns slashed in their own fashion. All bore such massive gold chains that some might have served for fetters on a felon's ankles, and sufficed for his safe custody, so heavy were they, and of such immense value.

The King wore a gown of purple satin and gold in chequers, with gold flowers, and sleeves and a cape, and a jewelled collar worth a well full of gold (*val un pozo d'oro*), his cap being of purple velvet with two jewelled rosettes, and his doublet of gold brocade.

After the procession high mass commenced, and was performed with great pomp and with vocal and instrumental music, which lasted until 1 p.m., when the King quitted the church, accompanied by all the nobility and by the Venetian ambassador, returning to the palace in pairs as they came. The whole neighbourhood was crowded with spectators, estimated at 30,000, all anxious to see the King, the sword, and the cap.

On his Majesty's return to the episcopal palace Badoer was again told to dine with the King; so he remained, and met with the same cordial welcome as of yore, and such as was always given him personally. The Spanish ambassador had also been invited to dinner in like manner, and Badoer heard one of the grantees say to him, "Ambassador! dine with us here for good fellowship;" but he declined, and some other noblemen said, "Ambassador! dine with us: it is late." All proved vain, and he departed, out of shame, it was said, for the peace made by his King with France. Spain had erred in deceiving so powerful a monarch as King Henry, who was his Catholic Majesty's good son, but the blame should rest, not with the ambassadors, but with their masters.

After dinner Badoer presented to the King the Signory's letter, which his Majesty received as graciously as usual, and applied the term "father" to the ambassador, who on taking leave was accompanied by two noblemen down to the water's side, where his barge was, and he returned in good spirits to his house on the banks of the Thames.

\* See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. no. 5111, p. 811.







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Alexander Stuart, Duke of Albany, having been expelled Scotland by his brother James III., withdrew to France, where he died,\* leaving a son, (John Stuart, Duke of Albany,) who was then endeavouring, under favour of Lewis XII.,† to recover his duchy in Scotland, and seize the crown; but the Scots would by no means receive him. According to report, the Queen widow of Scotland had sent to her brother King Henry, telling him that blood would never turn to water; that she had a son, the rightful heir of the Scottish crown, who was crowned King on the death of his father, King Henry's brother-in-law; and in case the Duke of Albany should come to Scotland under French protection, she demanded succour from her brother, who was expected to grant it, as the supremacy of the French in Scotland would be contrary to his interests; the two kingdoms being envious of each other, and thus compelled to remain constantly armed; though the Scots are invariably defeated, because the English are brave men and experienced soldiers.

Arrival of an ambassador from the King of France, who was supposed to be making a demand for peace; others are exerting themselves to the same effect. Contradictory reports about the object of the mission, some saying that the envoy had brought money for the ransom of the Duke de Longueville, who was captured at Tournai a year ago, the crown of France, according to report, appertaining to him. The King had conceded the Duke great liberty, allowing him to go about London and the Court at his pleasure.

An ambassador from the Duke of Bavaria had lately made his appearance in London for the purpose, it was said, of offering troops to the King, who had presented the papal envoy who brought the sword and cap with a benefice yielding 200*l.* per annum,‡ so that his embassy had answered well to him.

On Tuesday the 13th June, the King caused a very fine ship of his to be blessed; the ship was in the Thames, 12 miles below London, whither he (the writer) went to see it, the King with a number of lords being present. Many masses were said on board, including high mass as sung for the benediction. The ship was very large, with five decks and seven [fortified] tops; the bronze and iron cannon on board, including great and small, exceeding 200 in number.

Letter dated London, 15th June 1514.

[*Italian.*]

July 13.  
Mantuan  
Archives.

446. GIOVANNI PIETRO DE BUSTIS, an Italian in the service of Henry VIII., to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

The King was much gratified with the noble present, as the horses were not only very beautiful, but of surpassing excellence. The King holds the Marquis in great account. Told the King that the Marquis was the person who gave battle to King Charles; § whereupon the King said much in praise of the Marquis, and,

\* In 1485.

† John Stuart, Duke of Albany, arrived at Dumbarton 18th May 1515. (See Burke, p. 781.)

‡ Church of Cottingham, York dioc. (See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. no. 5198, June 29.)

§ Battle of the Taro, July 5, 1495.







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addressing a number of his courtiers, stated the Marquis to be a most noble prince, adding, "See what a worthy and generous present he has sent me, and what men its bearers are."

The King had paid all possible honour to Giovanni and Francesco d'Anone, his Majesty and the whole Court being astounded by the skill (*virtù*) of Giovanni d'Anone. The King was so much pleased with the present that the Marquis might rely on his support on all occasions.

London, 13th July 1514.

[*Italian.*]

July 16.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 320.

447. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 12th July.

News from France, that the King had flux and gout, but was better, and it was thought the agreement with England would take place. The Pope had received letters from the King of Spain, who thanked him for mediating between France and his son-in-law, the King of England.

The Cardinal of England (Bainbridge) was very ill. A person who had arrived in Rome from Scotland, having come through France, said the agreement with England would assuredly be concluded.

[*Italian.*]

July 16.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 320.

448. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.

There were difficulties about the agreement with England.

Note by Sanuto, that he understood that the "*Bailli*" of Dijon, gentleman of the King of France, who was at Rome, and lodged in the Pope's palace, (though he had spoken neither with the Cardinal San Severino nor with the French ambassador,) had come to ascertain whether the Pope was content that the King of France should have the duchy of Milan, as the King of England had decided to act by what the Pope should say.

[*Italian.*]

July 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 323.

449. The SAME to the SAME.

Dated 17th July.

Death of the Cardinal of England. No news from France, though the agreement was expected to arrive daily.

[*Italian.*]

July 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 323.

450. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 17th July.

Death of the Cardinal of England, a man 50 years old; very rich indeed; had left much ready money and plate; and made a will, having the Pope's permission thus to do. He had been the friend of the Signory. According to report, he had left property, including ready money, plate, and household furniture, to the amount of 110,000 ducats, of which (as heard by other letters) he bequeathed 20,000 ducats for the building of St. Peter's, and distributed the residue amongst his relations and servants. Was Archbishop of





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York ; had benefices yielding ——— thousand ducats ; had great power with the King of England, and was a man bold of speech.\*

The bailiff of Dijon, Chamberlain of the King of France, who had arrived at Rome, remained in the Pope's palace three days before he spoke to the French ambassadors. He was come to hear from the Pope whether they had written the truth, as to whether the Pope meant France to have the duchy of Milan. When the bailiff had ascertained the truth from the Pope, he conferred with the ambassadors. The Cardinal San Severino, aged 22 years, had been with the Venetian ambassador, stating he was commissioned by King Lewis to thank the Signory for their good offices to France. The King had also spoken in the same sense to Marco Dandolo, the ambassador in France. They were expecting news of the adjustment between England and France.

[*Italian.*]

July 27.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 340.

451. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.

Dated 23rd July.

They were expecting to hear of the conclusion of the agreement with England, news of which had not arrived, but the Pope felt perfectly sure it would come immediately.

[*Italian.*]

July 30.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 346.

452. The SAME to the SAME.

Dated 26th July.

Letters from the ambassador in France, date 16th July, and from Andrea Badoer in England, 1st July, state that the agreement had not yet been made, but was expected, and for its discussion the two crowns had apparently made truce for four months.

[*Italian.*]

July 30.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. pp. 346,  
347.

453. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 26th July.

Reported receipt of letters from Spain, announcing that the King was going to a certain town to meet an ambassador from France, one from England, a third from the Emperor, and a fourth from the Archduke.

There were letters from France, dated the 16th July, from the Bishop of Tricarico, the Pope's nuncio, who had been to England about the agreement, and having obtained the King's final resolve, returned to France and announced it to King Lewis, who made answer that he would discuss it in council and give a reply.

The Pope said he at first believed this agreement would take place, but that he now perceives difficulty to exist, so that the affair trailed thus.

[*Italian.*]

\* "Et homo che li bastava l'animo parlar."





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Aug. 4.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 358.

## 454. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 30th July.

The French business was as follows: the King of England desires to keep Tournai, to which the King of France objects; and as to the rest they are agreed.

According to letters of the 19th from the nuncio Tricarico in France, the King had sent an express to the General of Normandy, from whom he awaited a reply; and it was considered certain the agreement would take place, so that by the 10th of August it would be settled in one way or the other.

[Italian.]

Aug. 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 360.

## 455. LORENZO PASQUALIGO to his Brothers, FRANCESCO and FILIPPO.

Dated London, 8th and 12th July.

The agreement was considered as made. The French ambassador went about everywhere, and received much kind treatment. He held out for high terms, because the King meant first of all to levy certain taxes which had been imposed for the war. Tournai was to be retained by the Duke of Burgundy, to whom it belonged of yore. The King of France was to give 600,000 crowns to the King of England in six years, and the usual pension of 60,000 crowns annually.

[Italian.]

Aug. 6.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 362.

## 456. The SAME to the SAME.

Second summary of the letter dated London, 12th July.

Universal opinion that peace with France had been made, but not published, because the King was most diligently levying the sum promised him by the Parliament, and were the adjustment proclaimed the people would refuse payment, the money having been promised for the war against France.

The French ambassador was seen occasionally on the Thames, and about the town, taking his pleasure very gaily, being often accompanied by some of the courtiers, all doing him honour, whereas previously he had not been allowed so much liberty.

At Venice they will hear everything through France, and should the Signory know nothing, infers that nothing is known to anybody else.

The Spanish ambassador does not speak to the French ambassador [in London], and stays at home quite dispirited. The English abuse Spain excessively for her bad faith in making truce with France.

[Italian.]

Aug. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 368-  
370.

## 457. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME and DANDOLO, Ambassador in FRANCE.

Dated 4th August and 27th July.

Letters said to announce the conclusion of the agreement between England [and France] had arrived, but (adds Sanuto) nothing





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was published. The Pope, speaking to the ambassador about the agreement with England, said a messenger had arrived at Rome from the Emperor, with a commission referring his disputes with the Signory for arbitration to his Holiness.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 368.

458. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 3rd and 4th August.

The agreement with England was considered settled, and advices to that effect were expected hourly. Already at Rome bets were made thus: payment of 12 ducats, ready money, to receive 100 should the French be at Milan in the course of August.

According to the Pope's letters, received on the 4th, the articles of the agreement might be expected in a week, as the King of France had consented to the demands of the King of England, and sent a commission to the General of Normandy, his ambassador in England, to conclude.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 12.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 373.

459. APPEARANCE in the COLLEGE of the FRENCH AMBASSADOR, with many Milanese, clad in cloth of gold [as a mark of rejoicing].

Announcement by him of the receipt of letters from Florence, dated the 10th; that, according to advices from Blois of the 29th July, the agreement with the King of England was concluded, so that it would arrive from hour to hour.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 13.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 379.

460. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 10th August.

Details conversations held by him with Dom. Antonio di Bibiena, who was the "heart" of the Cardinal [Giulio de' Medici], and knew his secrets, and those of the Pope. Dom. Antonio told him the agreement between France and England had been made, but that the King of France would not come into Italy this year.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 16.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. pp. 381,  
382.

461. RECEIPT by the MERCHANTS of LETTERS from LONDON, dated 1st August, but none from the Ambassador Andrea Badoer nor for the Pasqualigi.

Announce the conclusion of the agreement, but that it was kept secret. Three ships were there, loading cloths; one for Constantinople and two for Scio, to the amount of 300,000 ducats. Give also other mercantile advices.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 18.

Mantuan  
Archives.

462. HENRY VIII. to the MARQUIS OF MANTUA.

As a slight acknowledgment for the noble present received from the Marquis, sends by the bearer, Sir Griffith Don, certain horses, with their furniture, part for the Marquis himself, and part for the Marchioness. Requests both one and the other to accept them, not





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indeed as a gift, (it being his intention to remunerate the Marquis with other English productions,) but as a slight mark of good will.

Greenwich, 18th August 1514.

[Signed :] Henry R.

[Countersigned :] And. Ammonius.

[Original, Latin.] \*

Aug. 20.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 389.

463. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at ROME, and DANDOLO, AMBASSADOR in FRANCE, both to the STATE.

Dated Rome, 16th August, and Blois, 3rd August.

The King of France would neither come into Italy nor send troops. The marriage between him and the maiden sister of the King of England was concluded, and he would go in person to meet her at Calais, where, according to report, the ceremony was to be performed. England had dispensed him from payment of the ready money which he was to disburse for the peace, the sum remaining on account of the Queen's dower.

[Italian.]

Aug. 20.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 389.

464. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Dated London, 29th and 30th July.

My Lady Margaret, the Emperor's daughter, who resides in Flanders, had held a conference with the Duke of Suffolk, one of the chief noblemen of England, and a marriage had been agreed between them (*e fatte nozze insieme*), though the Duke, who was a very handsome man, had not more than three wives, and "Madam" more than one husband.† An agreement had been made between France and England, and the General of Normandy was come to seal the articles, having been met by 400 of the chief lords on horseback to do him honour; he made his entry into London late in the evening.

[Italian.]

- Aug. 20.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 390.

465. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Dated Rome, 16th August.

On Friday, whilst the Pope was at dinner, heard him say that he meant to attend to the pacification of Christendom, in like manner as he had made this peace between France and England; and that he would form a Christian league, and go in person on board the armada against the Turk.

There were letters from England announcing the arrival there, on the 30th July, of the papal envoy, with the ultimatum of the King of France touching the agreement between the two crowns, and he had liberty to conclude, so that peace is expected hourly. There were

\* The register of this letter has been calendared by Mr. Brewer, vol. i., no. 5339, p. 861.

† From this it may be inferred that the "wrytyng" of the Archduchess Margaret, MS. Cotton. Titus, B. 1, which is printed at p. 71 of the Chronicle of Calais (Camden Society publication), should bear the date of 1514, and not 1513; and the "*dessent*," alluded to at p. 75, was the *proposed* landing of 1514 *before* the stipulation of the peace with Lewis XII.





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letters from the French court from the Venetian ambassador, Dandolo, dated 3rd August, that the agreement was made and the news of its conclusion expected from day to day. Advices were received from Lyons, in date of the 9th, to the same effect; also that the King of England was to come with his maiden sister, whom he marries to the King of France, as far as Calais, where the two sovereigns were to meet. On the 16th a servant of Cardinal San Severino's arrived post from France, having left the court on the 7th. He says that the agreement with England is made, and that the Marquis de Rothelin, late a prisoner in England, had been released, and was coming with the affianced bride of the King of France to Calais to conduct her to his Majesty, who would meet her there.

[Italian.]

Aug. 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 395.

#### 466. NEWS of the AGREEMENT between ENGLAND and FRANCE.

Private letters from Rome state the agreement between England and France was concluded, and was to be proclaimed in France on the 7th August, as likewise the marriage. The King of France promises to give the King of England annually 100,000 crowns for the expense incurred by him; this sum, however, to be set off against the Queen's dower. There were other articles as yet unknown. King Lewis was going towards Calais, to meet the Queen there for the consummation of the marriage.

[Italian.]

Aug. 22.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 81.

#### 467. The COUNCIL of TEN to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

On the day before yesterday, received by way of Rome his letters of the 29th ultimo. The letters from the most Christian King, dated the 8th, announcing the stipulation of the agreement and the marriage of King Lewis with the young sister of the King of England, are most agreeable to them.

Ayes, 23. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[Italian, 61 lines.]

Aug. 23.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 83.

#### 468. The COUNCIL of TEN to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Acknowledgment of letters relative to the terms of the treaty between England and France.

[Italian, 77 lines.]

Aug. 24.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 402.

#### 469. LETTER from LONDON, dated 29th July.

The agreement with France was concluded; the marriage would take place; and the French grandee ——— "de Roam" (*sic*) had arrived for the ratification. Many Englishmen of consequence had told the writer that the two crowns and the Signory should league together to expel Spain.

[Italian.]





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Aug. 25.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 405.

470. DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the  
STATE.

Dated Poissy, 11th August.

The agreement had been concluded and proclaimed in London on the 2nd. On the 13th the marriage was to be celebrated. The royal ambassadors were to touch the hand of the Queen (*tocar la man alla Regina*), the King's sister, in the name of King Lewis (*nomine predicti Regis*). The Queen was very beautiful and her age — years.

[Italian.]

Aug. 26.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 409.

471. SESSION of the COUNCIL of TEN and the JUNTA.

Edict for the celebration on the morrow by the Patriarch of high mass, and for the patricians to accompany the Signory in full dress (*ben vestiti*); also for bonfires to be burnt in the evening, and for the bells to be rung. Present of 100 golden ducats, and of black silk and damask for two gowns, &c., &c., to the envoy Francesco della Croce, who brought the news of the agreement between England and France in the past night. The criers to be sent to all the members of the Senate, telling them to come dressed in scarlet or silk. To write to the Patriarch, and order the bell ringing and bonfires.

[Italian.]

Aug. 26.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 86.

472. The COUNCIL of TEN and the JUNTA to the AMBASSADOR in ROME.

Arrival in the past night of Don Francesco de la Croce, the gentleman of the Lord Theodore Triulzi, sent by the most Christian King to notify the peace with England, and his marriage with the sister of the King of England.

The peace had been proclaimed on the 15th inst.

[Italian, 75 lines.]

Aug. 26.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 87.

473. MOTION made in the COUNCIL of TEN.

Put to the ballot, that on account of the peace made between England and France, tomorrow morning the Signory, accompanied by the ambassadors and noblemen, do go to St. Mark's Church; a prelate "*in pontificalibus*" do sing high mass; and, as solemn thanksgiving, "*Te Deum Laudamus*" be chaunted. Also that the bells throughout the whole city be rung, and torches and lights displayed in the evening from the steeples. Also that letters and orders be sent to the army to make demonstration of gladness, and that the like be done in such other of the towns and places of the Signory, as shall seem fit to the College.

Ayes, 7.

First amendment to the foregoing motion:

That the rejoicings be celebrated tomorrow only; and that an order to this effect be given in the army, and in the other cities and places as above.

Ayes, 17.





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## Second amendment :

That the original motion made by two councillors and the chiefs be carried, with this addition—that on Monday next the Senate be summoned, and the letters of the ambassador in France in this matter, with such omissions as to the College shall seem fit, be read.

Ayes, 2. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin*, 20 lines.]

Aug. 27.

## 474. The STATE to the KING OF FRANCE.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 89.

Acknowledge presentation on the preceding morning of the credentials by D. Zuan Francesco de la Croce.

[*Italian*, 22 lines.]

Aug. 27.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. pp. 410-  
413.

## 475. LIST of the NOBLEMEN who, on Sunday, 27th August

1514, attended the mass celebrated by the Patriarch in St. Mark's Church, for the agreement between France and England, wherein was included the Signory of Venice—122 names. Description of the robes worn; their materials, colours, &c.; velvet, silk, damask, raised pile, crimson, scarlet, purple, black, hoods of cloth of gold, &c., &c.

[*Italian*, 3 pp. folio.]

Aug. 27.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 414.

## 476. REJOICINGS at VENICE for the Agreement between England and France.

Fireworks (*fuogi*) in the evening from the belfries, but not from St. Mark's Tower, because of the scaffolding. At Cà Dandolo, "*Calle delle Rasse*," the residence of the French ambassador, the Bishop of Asti, there were paper lanterns on the neighbouring roofs and lights at the balconies, and a butt of wine in the street for all to drink and make merry.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 28.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xviii. p. 415.

## 477. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to KING HENRY VIII.

Deplores the disturbances in Christendom during the last five years. Notwithstanding the anxiety of the Republic for peace, truth, and religion, she had suffered by far the greatest proportion of adversity, but, relying on the justice of her cause, had never despaired. Was cheered by certain signs, none of which had been more gratifying than the recent announcement of the peace and relationship contracted between his Majesty and the King of France.

Alludes to the public rejoicings made at Venice on this account, and returns thanks to the King for having been mindful of the State when adjusting his affairs with France, and including the Republic amongst his especial friends.\*

[*Latin*.]

\* This letter is not registered in the Journals of the Senate, nor has it any other date than that of the day on which Sanuto entered it in his Diaries.





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Aug. 31. **478. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR** in ROME, dated 28th August, and **VENETIAN AMBASSADOR** in FRANCE, dated Posait [*sic*; Poissy or Passy?], 13th August, concerning the conclusion of the league with England. Staler letters than those brought by Zuam Francesco dalla Croce.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 1.

**479. VETOR LIPPOMANO** to ———.

Dated Rome, 28th August.

The ambassador Lando was better and in bed, but had been very ill. On the 26th letters were received from France, dated the 15th, announcing the proclamation of the agreement made with the King of England and of the marriage, which was concluded, so that the King of France would not come into Italy this year, though it was said he would give his second daughter to the Archduke of Burgundy. It was also said that the King of England meant to repudiate his present wife, the daughter of the King of Spain and his brother's widow, because he is unable to have children by her, and intends to marry a daughter of the French Duke of Bourbon.

The French ambassador at Rome had received letters from the French court dated the 14th August, whereby it appeared that for this year the King would not come into Italy, and was expecting the Queen from England, great entertainments being in preparation for her in France. The late Cardinal of England was suspected to have died by poison; one of his chaplains charged with the murder had been imprisoned in the castle [of S. Angelo] and had there destroyed himself; whereupon the Pope had the body hanged in public, and afterwards quartered. Certain other individuals had also been arrested. It seems the chaplain had confessed that an Englishman (*uno del paese d'Inghilterra*)\* had instigated him to do the deed, though the truth would now be ascertained through these other prisoners.

According to report (*si dize*) the King of England demands a million of ducats from the Emperor, on account of his expenditure in the war last year in France. He means to annul his own marriage, and will obtain what he wants from the Pope, as France did with Pope Julius (*sic*). †

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 1.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xvi. p. 64,  
tergo.

**480. DECREE** of the SENATE concerning EMBASSIES to FRANCE and ENGLAND.

Motion made for the election of a second ambassador to the King of France, to be despatched with Alvise Mocenigo, knight, already appointed. The two to congratulate his most Christian Majesty in the Signory's name; after which, Mocenigo to remain in France, and

\* This may mean either that the person accused was a native of England, or that he held station there, and he may have been resident at the time either in England or Rome. From Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 866, no. 5356, it seems that the person suspected was some prelate in England.

† In this Calendar, date 28 January 1499, mention is made of the divorce of Lewis XII. from Jeanne of France, and his subsequent marriage to Anne of Brittany. The dispensation was granted by Pope Alexander VI., not by Julius II.







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the ambassador now to be elected to proceed to England, and execute the commission which will be given him by the Senate. Persons to be eligible from all places and offices, even such as may have been elected to governorships, but have not yet departed; it being declared that, immediately on the acceptance of this legation, the governorship is to be resigned.

The individual elected to receive 120 ducats a month clear for his expenses, of which he is not bound to give any account, and to take with him 11 horses, including those of his secretary and his secretary's servant, and also two footmen. He is to be bound to reply within three days, and, if he accept, may not refuse under penalty of 500 golden ducats.

Ayes, 162. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 18 lines.]

Sept. 2.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 64,  
tergo.

481. First amendment to the foregoing decree:

The ambassador appointed to go to France with Alvise Mocenigo, and after congratulating King Lewis, *the two together* to proceed to England, and there do the like by King Henry; after which Mocenigo to remain in England. Their predecessors Marco Dandolo and Andrea Badoer to return home.

Ayes, 98.

Second amendment:

Moved that any person elected ambassador to England be liable to penalty in case of refusal; and it being notorious that on the road to England, and even more in England itself, there is a greater scarcity of necessaries than elsewhere, and especially on account of the sea voyage, be it carried, for the honour of the Signory, that on the departure of the two ambassadors from France for England, they do each receive 130 ducats a month; this salary to be continued to the one remaining in England alone; the other on his return to France to receive 120 ducats, as decreed.

Ayes, 86. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 20 lines.]

Sept. 2.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix., p. 5.

482. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Dated London, 14th August.

A long and copious letter concerning the agreement between England and France, and the marriage. Narrates in the first place the mode in which the ceremony of the betrothal was performed; and how Mons. de Longueville, who negotiated the agreement, having been taken prisoner at Tournai, gave his hand to the King's sister, by name Mary, aged — years, and kissed her. The ambassador Badoer was present, having been summoned by the King, who showed him great kindness. The ambassadors from the Emperor and Spain, who were in London, were not invited, which caused much comment universally. The King was extremely pleased that the Signory should have been the first power mentioned as his confederate and friend. Badoer witnessed the signature of all the instruments. The league, alliance, agreement, and perpetual peace between the two crowns had been published; place being left for the inclusion of the Pope at any time; of the Roman empire within







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five months, no mention being made of the Emperor Maximilian; and of the Duke of Burgundy and King Henry's nephew, the King of Scotland, within three months. The nomination of the Signory of Venice had been made by both parties. The adjustment was concluded on the 7th, and proclaimed on the 13th.

The Queen (Princess Mary) did not care for the French King's being an old man of—, and gouty, whereas she is a young maiden of—; so pleased was she to be the Queen of France. She was to depart on the 15th, that she might cross over and join the King, and would go with a very stately retinue. To the envoy who made the agreement, and gave his hand to the Queen in the name of King Lewis, King Henry had given 2,000*l.*, equal to well nigh 10,000 ducats, as also the gown worn by his Majesty at the time, which was embroidered with beaten gold,\* worth 300 ducats,—a very handsome present for Mons. de Longueville. The General of Normandy, the ambassador, had been in England, and was present at all the ceremonies above mentioned.

Note by Sanuto, that the reigning King of England was Henry VIII., his father having been styled Henry VII.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
vol. xix. p. 9.

**483. BORTOLOMEO ALVIANO, Captain General, to the STATE.**

Dated the 3rd.

Encloses a letter, dated Rome, the 30th, announcing the articles of the agreement between France and England; namely, Tournai to be retained by England. The amount of the Queen's dower unknown. The Scots comprised in the peace; the Catholic King and the Emperor excepted, but the empire included, as also the Switzers; with this condition, that any party thwarting the acquisition of Milan is understood to be excluded from the peace, in which Lady Margaret is included, with reserve touching the "superiority" of the most Christian King over certain towns held by her. The Pope, the Signory of Venice, and the Florentines were to be named as his adherents by the King of France, who, besides the stipulations in the articles, was to give a million of ducats to England, and 10,000 ducats a year; also 1,200 spears in time of war. Mutual succour in time of war by land of 10,000 foot, at the cost of the party to whom they belong; and of 6,000 men for naval warfare, to be paid by the party requiring them.

Here follows a copy of the proclamation made in France of the agreement; received by way of Rome.

St. Germain en Laye, 15th August, 1514.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix.,  
pp. 10, 11.

**484. BALLOT in the SENATE of an AMBASSADOR to FRANCE and ENGLAND.**

Nominees 27. Elected Francesco Donado, knight, late State attorney.

Ayes 109. Noes 73.

[*Italian.*]

\* "Qual era di sopra con oro batuto."







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Sept. 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 9.**485. PEACE between ENGLAND and FRANCE.**

Copy of the proclamation of the agreement made in France, received by way of Rome.

Announces on behalf of the King that peace, friendship, confederation, and alliance had been made between him and the King of England, to commence on the 7th August, &c. Dated St. Germain-en-Laye, 15th August 1514.

[*Italian.*]

Sept. 7.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 99.**486. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

Had received letters from their ambassador in Spain, dated Valladolid, 15th August, acquainting them that when King Ferdinand heard of the adjustment and peace between France and England, and that the marriage had taken place, he remained in suspense, and very suspicious.

[*Italian, 68 lines.*]

Sept. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 16.**487. HENRY VIII. to POPE LEO X.\***

After much discussion between the ambassador of the King of the French at the English Court and his own councillors, he, at the suggestion of the Pope, has ceased from the hostilities upon which he entered for the sake of the papacy, and has made peace with the King of the French on fair terms, and honourable both to his Holiness and to himself.

Has also included the Holy Empire and the Prince of Castile, assigning them the period of one year (to commence three months hence) wherein to declare themselves parties to the peace or not; but he has not prescribed any day for the Pope's adherence. Has done his utmost to include the Duke of Milan in the peace, but is unable to obtain this result by any arguments.

With regard to the King of Arragon, as he preferred acting for himself, neither England nor France has made any mention of him.

On the other hand, King Lewis has included the Scots under conditions which he (King Henry) is of opinion they would not accept.

The peace is to last for one year after the death of either of the contracting parties; and according to the articles, which King Lewis is to ratify within the next two months, the Pope is to confirm them, and to denounce by papal censures any infringer thereof. The Bishop of Worcester, English ambassador at Rome, is charged to give his Holiness fuller particulars concerning this matter.

To render the peace more binding, he has promised the Lady Mary in marriage to the King of the French, who has most earnestly asked for her. Heretofore, when she had scarcely attained her thirteenth year, his (King Henry's) father affianced her to the Prince of Castile, with a stipulation that on his attaining the age of 13 years, he was to send his ambassadors and procurators to England formally to ratify the espousals, "*per verba de presenti.*" This condition not having been complied with by the guardians

\* This letter has been calendared by Mr. Brewer, vol. i. no. 5319, p. 856.





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of the Prince of Castile, when the King was at Lisle last year, he referred to it by his ambassador on the 15th May 1514, but the Prince's guardians, although frequently reminded, again neglected the matter; so the Lady Mary, after holding prudent counsel, protested before a notary-public and witnesses, that she cancelled whatever had been done by the King's father in her name with the guardians of the Prince of Castile. Being thus freed, she is affianced to the King of the French, whose procurator had already contracted the marriage, by which bond the peace between himself and King Lewis would be more sincere and durable.

Had been chiefly induced to make this peace owing to the frequent and earnest exhortations of the Pope, who demonstrated that it would be advantageous not only to the Holy See, but also to the entire Christian commonwealth. Again requests the Pope to urge a universal peace with as much earnestness as he had furthered the adjustment with France.

Greenwich, 12th August 1514.

[Signed:] Henricus.

[Countersigned:] Andreas Ammonius.

[Latin.]

Sept. 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 13.

488. MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Paris, 24 August.

The King was gone to Etampes to see his daughters, and would return to Paris on his way into Picardy to meet his wife, who was coming from England; so Dandolo is of opinion he will not undertake the Italian expedition this year.

[Italian.]

Sept. 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 15.

489. VETOR LIPPOMANO to ———.

Rome, 3rd and 4th September.

The King of England had written a letter to the Pope, acquainting him with the terms he has made with France. The King had not mentioned the King of Spain, as the latter negotiated his own affairs alone. He had given his sister to the King of France. The late King of England promised her in marriage, when seven years old, to the Archduke of Burgundy, on condition that at the age of 14 he should ratify the espousals, which he failed to do.

On the morning of the 2nd high mass was sung at Sta. Maria del Popolo, there being present the Bishop de Giglis the English ambassador, and the Cardinals Fiesco, Adrian, Aginense, Ancona, Sauli, Santi Quatro, San Severino, Medici, and Santa Maria in Portico, and many bishops. Fireworks also had been let off in the evening, and the like was to be done on the morrow.

In date of the 4th writes that the ambassador had received from the Pope the letter of the King of England and the articles of agreement, and was sending them to the Signory.\*

[Italian.]

\* In date 30 September Sanuto records the death of Vettor Lippomano at Rome on the 26th; says he died of fever after a short illness, and that he was the son of the late Tomà Lippomano, the banker. He certainly was a valuable contributor to the Diaries.





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Sept. 30.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 62.**490. MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassador in France, to the STATE.**

Paris, 14th September.

Had been to the King at the Castle of ———, where he found him with his two daughters, Madame Claude and Madame Genevieve. Told the ambassador he was very glad of the news of Crema, and that he would assuredly undertake the Milanese expedition this year, and come in person and cross the Alps this winter. That he had sent 1,600 spears towards the Dauphin, and would have 20,000 infantry, &c. His Majesty was going to Paris, where the Queen was expected on the 29th September. Other advices in cipher, read in secret in the College.

[Italian.]

Oct. 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 69.**491. MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassador in France, to the STATE.**

Paris, 18th September.

Mentions the preparations and entertainments which were being made for the coming of the Queen—jousts, tournaments, &c. She was to be there on the 29th to bed (*a letarsi*) with his most Christian Majesty, who was going to meet her, so that for the present nothing was said about the Italian expedition, nor anything attended to save these rejoicings for the nuptials.

[Italian.]

Oct. 5.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxvii. p. 121.**492. The COUNCIL OF TEN to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

Commend extremely the most sage proceeding of his Majesty, in exhorting the King of England to attack Castile, as the more impediment is given to King Ferdinand in that quarter, by so much the less will he be able to maintain the army he has in Italy, and thus the [Italian] expedition will be facilitated.

Ayes, 22. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[Italian, 87 lines.]

Oct. 6.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 70.**493. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

London, 9th and 14th September.

By way of Florence, through Silvio Savello, advices had been received of the rout given by Renzo da Ceri to the enemy, which caused satisfaction in England, though Prospero Colonna wrote that it was untrue.

The Queen of France departed on the ———, on her way to her husband, and was preparing to cross with nine ships. Moreover, he (Badoer) had received no letters from the Signory, which surprised everybody. It would have been well had he received news of the defeat of the enemy at Este, as it might have benefited the negotiation on foot with Spain, which was, however, concluded, because the Queen is King Ferdinand's daughter.

The Archduke (Charles of Burgundy) had taken the marriage very much amiss, and was raising troops; so it was supposed there would be war, most especially with the support of the King of Denmark, the Archduke's brother-in-law.





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The King of England had received letters from his agent resident with the Emperor, to the effect that the agreement between the latter and the Signory would take place.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 70.

494. MOTION made in the SENATE by the SAGES for a letter to the Ambassador BADOER, in ENGLAND.

That the State had already written to him the advices about Crema and Este, and transmitted duplicates on that day, desiring him to thank the King for his good will, &c.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 6.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xli. p. 68.

495. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

In reply to his complaints of not hearing from them, mention having written a letter of congratulation to the King on the peace and marriage, date 22 August; and on the 30th had written to Badoer himself, announcing the victory of Crema. Repeat protestations of good will towards the King. As already stated, have elected ambassadors to his Majesty and the King of France, who would already have departed, had they received a safeconduct, on the arrival of which, they will set out immediately.

Ayes, 149. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 21 lines.]

Oct. 14.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 83.

496. MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassador in France, to the STATE Paris, 22 September.

The King had departed for Picardy to meet the Queen, who was expected at Michaelmas, though it was thought she would delay coming to Paris until the 10th October, when great entertainments and rejoicings would be made. There was already great preparation for tournaments and apparel. The King's son-in-law, Monseigneur d'Angoulême, the Dauphin of France, had spent 60,000 crowns, and the Master of the Horse, Galeazzo di San Severino, was also incurring great expense. Nothing else was attended to, save these nuptials; so that for the present year nothing was said about the Italian expedition, which was postponed till the spring.

Note by Sanuto, that it was believed the King of Spain would join the league of his son-in-law, the King of England, with France, which would be bad for the Signory, as Venice could not stand alone.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16.  
Senato Terra,  
v. xviii. p. 167.

497. DECREE of the SENATE concerning an Ambassador to FRANCE and ENGLAND.

The noble Alvise Mocenigo, knight, appointed ambassador to France, having stated it was impossible for him to settle his affairs at present and go to France and England, especially on account of an important lawsuit in which he was concerned; and also that the form of his election had been altered, as, after being elected ambassador to France, it was decreed that he should accompany





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Francesco Donado, knight, to England,—Put to the ballot, that an ambassador be elected instead of Mocenigo, that he do proceed to France with Francesco Donado, and that, after congratulating his most Christian Majesty, both the ambassadors do go to England, and perform the like office with the King there. That this being done, the one of the two who shall obtain the majority of voices, shall go back France to reside with his most Christian Majesty, and the other remain in England; the noblemen the ambassadors Marco Dandolo, doctor and knight, and Andrea Badoer to come home.

Each ambassador elected to have for his expenses 120 ducats a month clear; to be dispensed from showing any account of them to the Signory; to be obliged to keep 11 horses, including those of the secretary and his servant. Each person elected to be bound to reply within three days, to depart when and with such commission as shall seem fit to the College, and not to excuse himself on the plea of official employment, under penalty.

Ayes, 126. Noes, 52. Neutrals, 0.

Elected, Pietro Pasqualigo, doctor and knight.

Ballot, according to the motion, of Pietro Pasqualigo, doctor and knight, and Francesco Donado, knight. Elected Pietro Pasqualigo, who, together with Francesco Donado, is to proceed to France and England, and return to his most Christian Majesty, and reside with him as above.

[*Motion in Italian : result in Latin, 22 lines.*]

Oct. 16.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. pp. 86-88.

#### 498. EMBASSY TO ENGLAND.

Decree of the Senate for the election of an ambassador to France, to accompany Francesco Donado. The two together to congratulate the King on his marriage, and then proceed in company to England, to offer congratulations there also; after which, one of them to return to France, the other to remain in England. Also that Marco Dandolo do come home from France, and Andrea Badoer from England.

Elected,—Piero Pasqualigo, doctor and knight, State attorney, who accepted.

Ballot to decide which of the two ambassadors was to reside permanently in France, and which in England; the candidate obtaining the majority of balls to remain in France.

Francesco Donado, 36.

Piero Pasqualigo, 131.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 24.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 105.

#### 499. LETTER from ROME containing advices from FRANCE.

Dated the 8th October.

Arrival in France on the 3rd at Boulogne of the Queen, the sister of the King of England (a most beautiful young woman), with 80 damsels and English lords. The King was at a distance of 18 miles, with 200 French damsels [having gone] to meet the Queen. Very great entertainments and rejoicings would be made.

[*Italian.*]







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Oct. 25.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 107.500. LORENZO PASQUALIGO, merchant of Venice, to his brothers  
ALVISE and FRANCESCO.

London, 23 September 1514.

No talk of war in London; entertainments, banquets, and jousts are being held for the departure of the Queen, who left for Dover four days ago, accompanied by four of the chief lords of England, namely, the Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, the Chancellor, and Lord Stanley,\* besides 400 knights and barons, and 200 gentlemen and other squires, with their horses. The lords, knights, and barons were all accompanied by their wives, attended by their damsels (*damizelle*). There would be about 1,000 palfreys, and 100 women's carriages (*carrette de done*). There are so many gowns of wove gold and with gold grounds, housings for the horses and palfreys of the same materials, and chains and jewels, that they are worth a vast amount of treasure; and some of the noblemen in this company, to do themselves honour, had spent as much as 200,000 crowns each. Many of the merchants purposed going to Dover to see this fine sight, and about a week ago all the merchants of every nation went to the Court. The Queen (of France) desired to see them all, and gave her hand to each of them. She wore a gown in the French fashion, of wove gold (*oro tirado*), very costly; she is very beautiful, and has not her match in all England, is a young woman 16 years old, tall, fair, and of a light complexion, with a colour, and most affable and graceful; on her neck was a jewelled diamond,† as large and as broad as a full sized finger (*un diamante in zoielo grando e grosso un bendedo*), with a pear-shaped pearl beneath it, the size of a pigeon's egg, which jewel had been sent her as a present by the King of France, through —; and the jewellers of "the Row," whom the King desired to value it, estimated its worth at 60,000 crowns. It was marvellous that the existence of this diamond and pearl should never have been known; it was believed they had belonged to the late King of France, or to the Duke of Brittany, the father of the late Queen.

According to the report of the courtiers, the Queen was to cross over to Boulogne, and the King of France would come as far as Abbeville, it was said, to meet her, and there consummate his marriage with this "nymph from heaven," her beauty and affability warranting the expression.

On bidding farewell to the merchants, she made them all many offers, speaking a few words in French, and delighting everybody. The whole court now speaks both French and English, as in the time of the late King.

The Spanish ambassador never attends any of the entertainments, and remains at home, because, when he goes about the town, strange things are said to him, so that he was half confined to his house.

The squadron for the Queen's conveyance across would number 250 sail, viz., 150 barks, and the rest crayers (*schrute*) and other vessels, all having been in readiness for the last fortnight.

[Italian.]

\* Edward Stanley, Lord Monteagle. See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 898.

† Probably "the Mirror of Naples." See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. ii. no. 327.







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Oct. 30.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 71,  
tergo.

**501. EMBASSY to FRANCE and ENGLAND.**

Decree of the Senate for the immediate despatch of the ambassadors elected to France and England. Piero Pasqualigo, doctor and knight, and Francesco Donato, knight, ambassadors appointed to France and England, to be summoned before the College, and enjoined by the Doge to be on their way to their legation in the course of next week, by such road as shall be ordered them. 400 ducats ready money to be given to each of them, and each to be supplied with a letter of credit for 500 ducats, one for France and the other for London.

Ayes, 170. Noes, 6. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 14 lines.]

Oct. 30.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 115.

**502. DECREE of the SENATE, ordering the departure of the ambassadors appointed to France and England in the course of the following week; each to receive 400 ducats, and have a bill of exchange for 500 ducats.**

[*Italian*.]

Oct. 30.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 116.

**503. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

London, 16 September.

Arrival in London of an ambassador from the Emperor,\* who demanded audience of the King, and permission to make whatever statement he pleased; which being granted, he said on behalf of the Emperor, that the King of England had done wrong to break the promise given to his grandson, the Archduke of Burgundy, by marrying the Lady Mary to the King of France, the Emperor's enemy, and that his deserts entitled him to other treatment. To this the King replied, that it was not he who had failed in his faith, but the Emperor, to whom he had disbursed so many thousands of ducats for the raising of troops and the prosecution of the war against France, but that the Emperor took no heed for the observance of his promise, and did nothing at all. The King added other words, blaming the Emperor vastly, so that the ambassador took leave and departed.

The Spanish ambassador, perceiving the celebration of the marriage, and the small account in which his King was held, had absented himself from the Court, and quitted London.

The Queen of France was to depart on the — September, the ships for her passage across to Boulogne being in readiness; and she was to be accompanied by 80 English women and five men of consequence, so that she would go with great pomp and triumph. The King in person, on board the galley bearing his name [*Henri Grace de Dieu*?], would accompany her for 10 miles out to sea.

The Queen of Scotland had married a Scottish baron (Earl of Angus), who was to rule the kingdom for her son.

[*Italian*.]

Oct. 30.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 115.

**504. MOTION made in the SENATE by the Sages, and carried, for a letter to Andrea Badoer, ambassador in England, acquainting him with the recent victories over the Spaniards, and the capture of**

\* Qu. Jacques de Caestres? See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. no. 5407, p. 880.





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Bergamo, and saying that the entire Republic is at the command of King Henry, as the Signory perceives and knows the love he bears her.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 122.

505. NICOLÒ DI FAVRI of Treviso, attached to the Venetian Embassy in England, to FRANCESCO GRADENIGO.

London, 24 September 1514.

By way of Rome, through the papal ambassador, he had written a sheet full of news; but the courier, who was also conveying the Venetian ambassador's letters to the State, on arriving within four miles of Cologne, was attacked, and his despatches were taken from him and thrown into the Rhine, so that the Pope never received them; they were full of the great events then passing in England, and gave account of current reports, and of the numerous ambassadors then at the Court. There was an ambassador from the Emperor, another from the Duke of Milan, another from the Pope, (who came post incognito, and never showed himself during the whole time of his stay in London,\*) two ambassadors from the King of France, and a messenger from the Marquis of Mantua, who sent the King of England four handsome horses and two jennets. Had written likewise of the present given by the King to the messenger, and of the hackney which he sent to the Marquis. Narrated also the departure of the ambassadors, and the pains taken by the Venetian ambassador to satisfy the Signory, both by following the Court and by always frequenting the houses of the noblemen, most especially the chief personages of the kingdom. The Venetian ambassador, although old, had a good constitution, and bore much cold, heat, rain, wind, hunger, and thirst.

The English fleet, being off the coast of Brittany, had taken some French ships, landed there, and burned 26 villages, which were uninhabited, for the peasants had fled to the hills with all their property.

The Venetian ambassador had constantly exerted himself to effect the nine months' truce with France, and orders were sent to the Admiral of the fleet not to proceed farther to ravage the French territory, but to return with the whole force and disarm, which he did. All these particulars were recorded in the lost letter.

In the meanwhile the Duke of Longueville, being a prisoner, negotiated the peace, which was proclaimed in London in a public street on the 11th of August by two men on horseback; the King of England, France, and Ireland (such being his title), and King Lewis of France making peace for their own lives, and for one year beyond. Neither trumpet nor any other instrument was sounded, and but few persons heard the proclamation; neither were bonfires burnt nor any other demonstration made for this peace.

According to report the King of France had again promised the King of England the tribute which he usually paid him, and many

\* As mentioned in a note, date August 20, 1514, this papal envoy was Lodovico Canossa, Bishop of Tricarico.







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thousand crowns additional; and at the same time they negotiated, and indeed concluded the marriage of King Henry's sister as Queen of France, she having been previously promised to the Prince of Castile, Duke of Flanders, who had already received a considerable sum on account of the dower; and great pageants were to have been performed at Calais in May. But early on the morning of Sunday the 13th of August a lord came in his barge in quest of the Venetian ambassador, on behalf of the King, that he might go to the Court to be present at a wedding; so he went to where his Majesty was, at a place called Greenwich, on a fine river, and proceeded up stairs, where the other lords were awaiting the King in the apartment where the marriage ceremony was to be performed; it had the appearance of a large chamber, the walls around being covered with arras of cloth of gold, surmounted by an embroidered frieze with the royal arms. There were many lords present clad in cloth of gold, and some in silk, all wearing gold chains, who came to meet the ambassador, saying, "Thou art as welcome as if thou wert our father, and of our own blood," for which he thanked them much, and they gave him good greeting; and he remained thus talking first with one and then with another for three hours, until at length the King came, and was immediately followed by the Queen, by his sister, the bride, and by a number of ladies. The Duke of Longueville, together with the two French ambassadors, represented the King of France. The Primate, Archbishop of Canterbury, delivered a Latin sermon, saying they had been brought to that place to celebrate a holy marriage, the contracting parties being the sister of the King of England and the King of France, whose Majesty was represented by the Duke of Longueville. The Archbishop having finished his sermon, one of the French ambassadors made a speech in the name of his King, who, he said, was content and willing to take for his wife and Queen the Lady Mary aforesaid; and when he had ended his discourse, the Duke of Longueville, representing the person of the King of France, took her hand and placed the ring on her finger.

Does not know why the two Papal ambassadors were not present at this marriage, as they were at the Court, and had been invited; but before the King came into the chamber where the ceremony was performed, they were conducted into another place; neither was the Spanish ambassador present. The Venetian ambassador remained throughout the whole ceremony, and was registered as the first witness of this holy marriage.

The King then departed, and attended high mass, it being nearly midday. He was preceded by the lords in pairs, in silk gowns of their own fashion, with gold collars as massive as chains. There were two dukes of the realm clad in cloth of gold, with long gowns.

The Venetian ambassador was made to walk last, near the King as a mark of honour, and was paired with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Next came the King in a gown of cloth of gold and ash-coloured satin, in chequers, with certain jewelled embroidery in his own fashion (*con certi fogiami ingalizadi a suo modo*), and a most costly collar round his neck.







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The Duke of Longueville walked nearly in line with the King, wearing a gown of cloth of gold and purple satin in chequers, and a most beautiful collar.

After the King came the Queen (who is pregnant) clad in ash-coloured satin, with chains and jewels, and on her head a cap of cloth of gold, covering the ears in the Venetian fashion.

Beside her was the King's sister, the bride, a girl of 16, with a petticoat of ash-coloured satin, and a gown of purple satin and cloth of gold in chequers; she wore a cap of cloth of gold, and chains and jewels like the Queen, and was accompanied by many ladies.

The mass being ended, it was dinner time, and after a grand banquet the King and Queen and the ladies returned to the apartment where the marriage ceremony had been performed, accompanied by many lords, and commenced dancing, the musical instruments being a flute (*piva*), a harp, a "*violetta*," and a certain small fife (*un certo pifaretto*), which produced a very harmonious effect (*si accordavano molto bene*).

The ball lasted nearly two hours, the King and the Duke of Buckingham and other lords dancing in their doublets; even the Venetian ambassador felt inclined to throw off his gown and follow the example of the King and the others, but he abstained by reason of his age.

Immediately after the dinner, the Papal ambassadors, attended by the noblemen who had escorted them from their dwelling, returned home; nor did they see the dancing or any other part of the ceremony. Does not know the reason of this.

When the dancing ceased, refreshments were served, and the King and Queen and the ladies thereupon departed. Then followed the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Longueville, the two French ambassadors, the Venetian ambassador, the Lord of St. John's (Sir Thomas Docwra), and the noblemen who came to fetch the Venetian ambassador; and they adjourned to the house given by the King of England to the Duke of Longueville, a good bowshot's distance from the palace, but within the [park] walls. There the legal instruments were signed, and mutually ratified; after which beverages were served. The Venetian ambassador then took leave and departed, together with the noblemen who fetched him, and with the Lord of St. John's; and they came home in the barge and made good cheer.

On the morrow, Monday, the 14th [August], the Duke of Longueville and one of the French ambassadors departed for France, and, according to report, the King made the Duke a present of 300*l.* (*sic*), each pound sterling being worth four ducats and a half, and he went away with 10 horses and a cart (*careta*).

Subsequently two ambassadors were appointed to France, namely the Lord of St. John's and the Lord Chamberlain, (Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester,)\* who quitted London on the 29th August, and according to report, after despatching their business in France, they would go to Rome, and possibly to Venice. They were very great

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\* See Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. no. 5335, p. 860.







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friends of Andrea Badoer's, and men of consequence. It was said the King of France had sent a handsome present here to his Queen, and that the marriage would be performed speedily, for that the King [of England] would send her away on the 5th of October, accompanied by many noblemen, including the Bishop of Durham, who, having done the needful in France, would go to Rome and meant to come and see Venice, and was a very great friend of the ambassador Badoer.

Prays God that the marriage may prove auspicious. It was said that when the Prince of Castile heard that his promised bride had been given to the King of France, he went immediately into his council chamber and said to his councillors, "Well! am I to have my wife as you promised me?" with other words to that effect; whereupon his councillors answered him, "You are young, but the King of France is the first King in Christendom, and, having no wife, it rests with him to take for his queen any woman he pleases." And thus did they seek to excuse themselves. During this conversation, Duke Charles, looking out of a window, saw a man with a hawk on his fist, and calling one of his councillors who was his chief friend, said to him, "I prithee go buy me that hawk." The councillor replied, "I know that hawk; he is a young bird, and does not yet know how to quarry (*non sa ancora paissar*): he is not a bird for your Lordship." The Prince again said, "I prithee go buy it." The councillor still seeking to excuse himself, the Duke at length exclaimed, "Come with me;" so he bought it himself, and put it on his fist. Then, having returned into the council chamber and seated himself, he commenced plucking the hawk, the councillor meanwhile inquiring, "Sir! what are you doing?" The Duke still continued plucking the bird, and when he had done so to his heart's content, made answer: "Thou askest me why I plucked this hawk; he is young, you see, and has not yet been trained, and because he is young he is held in small account, and because he is young he squeaked not when I plucked him. Thus have you done by me: I am young, you have plucked me at your good pleasure; and because I was young I knew not how to complain; but bear in mind that for the future I shall pluck you." He also used other very strong language.

Had the King of Spain kept his promise to the King of England, the latter would never have made peace with France; and the promises of the Emperor were equally false, for he had received many thousands of pounds from King Henry, on condition that he was to be in person at Calais in the month of May, with a considerable force in the King's pay; but the Emperor pocketed the money, and never came. His failure was the cause of all that took place, for as King Henry was deceived in every direction, he thought fit therefore to take this other course.

On the 14th September an ambassador from the King of France arrived there, by name Mons. d'Ansi, said to be the bearer of a present for the Queen. On the morrow he went to the Court, with his attendants, preceded by a handsome white horse, bearing two coffers, said to contain the presents, amongst which, according to report was a diamond with a large pearl, worth 50,000 crowns.







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The Lord of St. John's had written to England, announcing his having found the King of France at Paris, and that he had received good greeting and been much caressed by his Majesty, who did him great honour. The Duke of Longueville and his wife, with 200 ladies and many lords, were to come as far as Boulogne to meet the Queen; and on the King's hearing of her arrival in that place, he would depart to receive her there as Queen, and then proceed to Paris for the triumphs and entertainments. It was said that on the morrow of the letter's date the King (of England) would send her towards the seaside, that she might cross in the direction of Calais, with a great number of noblemen.

According to report, the King of France had given the duchy of Milan to the Queen as counter dower (*controdotto*). Prays God that the marriage may prove auspicious for Italy, and concludes by saying that the King of France was 56 years old, and very gouty, and that the King of England wished his sister to have that duchy.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 30.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvi. p. 71,  
tergo.

**506. THE DOGE AND SENATE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.**

Besides the rout of the enemy at Este, upwards of 300 Spanish men-at-arms were defeated beyond the Adige. The Signor Renzo da Cere, moreover, recovered the city of Bergamo, and the Captain General Alviano entered Rovigo on Saturday the 16th instant, the booty being so great that a whole day was required for its fair division amongst the soldiery. Intend to attack Verona. To acquaint the King with these particulars, adding that the despatch of the ambassadors to him and France is delayed, solely because they have not received the safeconducts for their journey.

Ayes, 169. Noes, 8. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 40 lines.*]

Nov. 2.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. pp. 128,  
129.

**507. MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.**

Abbeville, 15th and 17th October.

Narrates the meeting between the King and the Queen, and then the mass; and their bedding together (*l'aletarsi insieme*), and the entertainments made, and the banquets. This took place on the 9th. The King met her on the road, and kissed her; and then she entered the town, much honour being paid her. She came in excellent array; but in a storm on the passage one of her ships foundered, with ladies and others, and much plate and property was lost. Details also his conversations with his most Christian Majesty, who said to him,—

“Domine orator! the Queen has made two demands of me; the one that we should undertake the Italian expedition, the other that we do go and see Venice. We have promised her the first, that of undertaking the Italian expedition; so we shall go to Paris, and then proceed to Lyons to hasten the expedition; and we have sent for the Duke of Bourbon to come to us, meaning to send him as captain of the Milanese undertaking. And with regard to coming







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to Venice, we wish her to go and see that town; so write to the most illustrious Signory that she will assuredly come."

Also other conversations, as in the letters which were read by the chiefs of the Ten; and on the morrow, the 16th, they were all to depart for Paris.

Note by Sanuto, that the letters from France also announced that the King had a fit of the gout, which was brought on by fatigue encountered with his young wife. Also that on entering Abbeville it rained heavily, and that in the evening the town caught fire, and thirteen houses were burnt.

[*Italian.*]

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508. MARY TUDOR.

Sanuto Diaries,  
xix. pp. 129,  
130.

Copy of a letter sent from France to the Bishop of Asti (Antonio Triulzi), ambassador from King Lewis to the Signory of Venice, narrating the arrival in France of the Queen.

At about 3 p.m. the Queen arrived within a quarter of a mile hence (Abbeville), and halted there, awaiting the King, who mounted a jennet (making it appear that he was going out hawking), went to meet her, and on approaching kissed her; before he did so, she kissed her own hand, a ceremonious proceeding which he did not understand;\* and he said a few words to her, which were not intelligible to the writer.

After giving good greeting to the English barons, the King departed, Monseigneur d'Angoulême and Alençon, with the other princes and an infinity of gentlemen, remaining with the Queen; and then the Queen made her entry into Abbeville, thus:—

The Switzers entered first with their banner; then the French gentlemen; then the English gentlemen, and the French princes with the English princes and barons, together with the ambassadors from the Pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines.

Then followed the Queen, under a white canopy, above and around which were the roses, supported by two porcupines. She was alone beneath it, and Monseigneur [d'Angoulême] on her left hand, but outside. She rode a white palfrey, with rich trappings, and was herself clad in very handsome stiff brocade (*brocato rizo*, query bawkin?).

Next came her litter, very beautiful, adorned with lilies; then five of the principal English ladies, very well dressed; then a carriage of brocade, on which were four ladies, followed by a second carriage with as many more ladies. Next came six ladies on horseback; and then a third carriage, of purple and crimson velvet (*veluto paonazo cremesin*), with four ladies; after which a crowd of ladies, some twenty in number; then 150 archers in three liveries. In this order they went to the Queen's house, which was near that of the King. It was a sumptuous entry, and these noblemen of England have very large chains, and are otherwise in good array.

\* "... l'incontro; et acostossi, et la basò, la quale avanti la basasse, se basso la man sua propria; non intese questa cerimonia, et li disse," etc.

To avoid kissing in public, she kissed her hand to him; but this ceremonious proceeding was not to his taste, and he then kissed her, etc.







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Before the entry there was a heavy shower, which drenched them all, especially the ladies. The Queen was dressed in the English fashion. In the evening, "Madame," the King's daughter, wife of Monseigneur d'Angoulême, went to visit her, and they gave a ball. This morning the King had preparation made for the mass in his own hall (*salla*), whither the Queen came, preceded by 73 (*sic*) English barons and gentlemen; the King doffed his bonnet, and the Queen curtsied to the ground, whereupon his Majesty kissed her. The treasurer Robertet then presented to the King a necklace, in which were set two beautiful jewels, and his Majesty placed it round the Queen's neck; after which mass was performed.

The two candles were held, the one by Monseigneur de Vendôme and the other by the Prince de Vendôme. After the King had kissed the "pax" at the mass, he kissed the Queen. At the offertory Monseigneur [d'Angoulême?] gave the money to the King, and Madame to the Queen.

The mass by the Cardinal de Bayeux being ended, he gave the consecrated wafer, one half to the King and the other to the Queen, who kissed and then swallowed it; and after making a graceful curtsy she departed, the King and Queen going each to their own apartments to dine. In the evening the Queen arrayed herself in the French fashion, and there was dancing; the whole Court banqueting, dancing, and making good cheer; and thus, at the eighth hour before midnight, the Queen was taken away from the entertainment by Madame to go and sleep with the King.

I promise you that she is very handsome, and of sufficiently tall stature (*de statura honestamente granda*). She appears to me rather pale, though this I believe proceeds from the tossing of the sea and from her fright. She does not seem a whit more than 16 years old, and looks very well in the French costume. She is extremely courteous and well mannered, and has come in very sumptuous array.

The joust will be prolonged at the request of these English lords, who evince a wish to tilt, and mean to send Talbot.

To Lamete, who is in the service of Longueville, the Queen has given those five sous of France which she receives from all the hosiers of the kingdom, the sum amounting to upwards of 20,000 francs.

Mons. de Concessault (*Contersollo*) has been made the Queen's lord steward; they wanted to appoint Samalla bayla (*sic*), but he would not accept. The Queen received her drink from an Englishman clad in gold brocade, who knelt the whole time, as did the one who tasted for her, bareheaded.

Today, which is the 10th, the King has come forth very joyous and gay, and thrice last night did he cross the river, and would have done more, had he chosen (*et tre volte questa notte ha passato la riviera, et più haveria fatto se havesse voluto*).\*

I recommend myself to you.

Abbeville, the 10th of October 1514.

[Italian.]

\* See also page 211.







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## 509. MARY TUDOR.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. pp. 130,  
131.

Summary of two letters from France, narrating succinctly the honours paid to the most serene Queen when she came for her marriage. Dated in Picardy, at Abbeville, the 8th and 9th October 1514.

On this day, Sunday, at 4 p.m., the most Christian Queen made her entry, in very great state and triumph. She dismounted at a distance of two leagues from Abbeville, for the purpose of putting herself in order, and "Monseigneur" (the Duke of Angoulême), and all the gentlemen and grandees of France remained there to allow time for making the announcement to the King. This took place early this morning. Later in the day "Monseigneur" was joined by the two Cardinals of Bayeux and Auch, and many bishops, together with the ambassadors of the Pope, of the Venetians, and of the Florentines; and the King went to meet them on the road, making it appear that he was going out hawking with his falcons; and, presenting himself to the Queen, implied that the meeting was accidental. He then kissed her, and afterwards embraced all the English princes and barons who accompanied her; whereupon, under pretence of proceeding on his way, he returned home by another road long before the Queen made her entry, which took place thus:—

First went a good number of the archers, musketeers, and arbalast men of the town, all in their livery of yellow and red; next the "Prévôt de l'Hôtel," with his archers; then the 400 archers of the guard, with their captains; then the Grand Seneschal of Normandy with the gentlemen; then the clergy with their relics; after whom came the English lords and gentlemen, some 80 in number, including the princes and grandees, who might amount to as many as 25, in gallant trim, of various sorts; and many in gold brocade. Then followed the Scots of the guard, surrounding the Queen, who was under the canopy borne by the chief persons of Abbeville, her Majesty having in her hand a sceptre of white wood (*una bacheta de ligno bianco*); and all around, under the canopy, were her running footmen in bicoloured doublets of gold brocade and black velvet. In advance of the Queen were the ambassadors from the Pope and the Venetians.

The Queen was very magnificently dressed, both her gown and head gear being of the English fashion, and very costly, both in jewels and goldsmiths' work. Her gown was of gold brocade with a white ground.

Near her, for her person, a litter was carried, covered with stiff gold brocade, the caparisons of the two horses which bore it being all of wrought gold, the pages who rode them being clad in gold brocade, embroidered with gold lilies in relief; and then came another palfrey for her person, very superbly caparisoned, besides the one which she rode under the canopy.

Next followed 12 ladies; the wives, sisters, and daughters of the lords, princes, and grandees who had accompanied her, all most richly arrayed in the English fashion, in cloth of gold; and after them came some 40 other damsels, well and sumptuously adorned in the







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English fashion. Three carriages, which the Queen brought from England, followed; they were very handsome and contained ladies. The coverings were of gold brocade and crimson velvet, with a border of lilies in relief; the caparisons of the horses corresponding. Then came the archers and "*Gianitari*" of her guard, in number 150, in good order.

The Queen dismounted at a house a few paces distant from the King's. According to report the marriage will not be consummated until Tuesday next, and then on Thursday or Friday the King will depart for Paris. The Queen is said to be from 17 to 18 years old, of handsome presence, not stout, has a beautiful face, and is cheerful.

[*Italian.*]

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Sanuto Diaries,

v. xix.

pp. 131, 132.

#### 510. MARY TUDOR.

Letter dated Abbeville, 9th October.

If the pomp of the most Christian Queen was great yesterday at her entry, this morning, the 9th, it was yet greater at her wedding, which took place at nine o'clock in the King's house in a large hall.

The Queen quitted her own lodging, distant a stone's throw from the King's, at seven o'clock, and through a large garden reached the King's house, accompanied by the English lords, princes, and gentlemen, with large gold chains and jewels in their bonnets, many being clad in gold brocade, and all handsome men. Talbot and a duke side by side accompanied the Queen, they being preceded by heralds of arms, trumpeters, and innumerable musicians of various sorts. Then came the English princesses and noble ladies, in number 24, wearing in like manner many jewels on their heads, and garments of gold brocade, so that never was such pomp witnessed.

The Queen was dressed in a gown of stiff gold brocade, her head gear being in the English fashion, and she wore jewels of very great price.

From the garden gate to the door of the hall, all the gentlemen of the guard were ranged in line, axe in hand.

Within the hall was the King, attended by Monseigneur d'Angoulême and the French princes. He was seated on a handsome chair near the altar, where the mass was to be celebrated; and on the Queen's arrival she was placed on another handsome chair beside him. Immediately on her being seated the King kissed her; whereupon the words (*sic*) were uttered by a kinsman of the King of England; and Monseigneur d'Angoulême, Monseigneur d'Alençon, Vendôme, and Guise, the brother of Lorraine, held over them the canopy, which was most costly.

This being done, mass was sung by the Cardinal de Bayeux, and on its conclusion, when the ceremonies were ended, the King withdrew to his own chamber, and the Queen to hers, they being near each other; and at the dinner she was waited on by all the officials of the King's household and by the Lord Steward.

Yesterday, when the Queen dismounted at her lodging, "*Madame*," the King's daughter, went to pay her respects, and was received with the utmost courtesy and honour, and very lovingly.

In truth the pomp of the English was as grand and costly as words can express; and the princes and nobles of France, and







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the ladies likewise, vied with them (*gli hanno tenuto corona*), for the whole of the French court sparkles with jewels, gold, and brocades.

At this hour, 1 p.m., the Queen, "Madame," and all the princesses are in the hall where the marriage ceremony was performed, dancing with these English and French princes and lords.

The marriage will be consummated in the coming night.

According to report, the King and Queen will depart on Friday, on their way to Paris; and the greater part of the English nobility will return home.

The Queen goes dressed in the French fashion; she is not so handsome as she appeared to me on the road when on horseback; but at any rate she pleases the most Christian King, and he will have her always at his side.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 2.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix.  
pp. 132-136.

#### 511. MARY TUDOR.

[*Letter without signature or address, but written apparently to the Bishop of Asti, French ambassador to Venice.*]

Most Reverend Master in Christ, and Lord, &c.

This morning Angoulême returned, having accompanied the most Christian Queen as far as a village four leagues hence; and with him came Bayeux, Longueville, Lautrec, Monseigneur de Chaini, Monsr. de Pienes, and many other lords and gentlemen.

At two p.m. the King, understanding that his consort was about to mount on horseback and come to Abbeville to join him, sent back Angoulême to meet her, accompanied by Monseigneur d'Alençon, by the brother of the Duke of Albany, by Monseigneur de Longueville, Monseigneur de Lautrec, Monseigneur de la Trimouille, Louis Monseigneur (*sic*), and many other lords and honourable gentlemen to accompany her.

Monseigneur d'Angoulême met her at about a league's distance from the town on an extensive level, which the King had appointed for the interview; so he detained her there talking until the arrival of his Majesty, who was accompanied by the Cardinals of Auch and of Bayeux, by Monseigneur de Vendôme, by the Duke of Albany, by the Lord Steward and the Master of the Horse, and by the other lords and barons of France. There were also present the 200 gentlemen and the guard of archers, all on horseback, and the other guard of Switzers on foot. The King rode a very beautiful Spanish horse, caparisoned with cloth of gold and black satin, in chequers; he himself being clad in a short riding dress of cloth of gold on crimson. He found a great multitude of horsemen and others who had come to witness this interview between the parties, and went up very boldly to the Queen as if they had been on intimate terms, and having first kissed his own hand to her, he then threw his arm round her neck, and kissed her as kindly as if he had been five and twenty. He came in this dress and on horseback, the more to prove his vigour; and then, after saying a few words to her, he returned into the town with those who had accompanied him, leaving with the Queen Monseigneur d'Angoulême and his companions aforesaid;







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and Monseigneur remained always at her side until they arrived at the palace appointed for her residence in the town.

Of the inhabitants of Abbeville some 30 of the chiefs went forth, accompanied by their mayor, governor and administrator of justice, who is elected annually, and they had with them 150 men, namely 50 archers, 50 musketeers, and 50 arbalast men, all dressed in red and yellow cloth. They went half a league to meet her, the captain of the castle going likewise, with his guard of some 30 men, all newly clad in his own livery.

On entering the suburbs, she was met by all the clergy, with a canopy of white satin embroidered above and around with the roses, supported by two porcupines, under which she was accompanied to her palace.

She herself rode a white palfrey caparisoned with cloth of gold on white; her own dress being cloth of gold on crimson with close English sleeves; her head-tire consisted of certain gold ornaments in their fashion, with two large pearls on the left side. On her head she wore a shaggy hat of crimson silk, cocked over her left eye; and this she did not ever doff save on the King's arrival, and having then resumed it, she kept it on her head until she arrived at home. Of water from heaven there was no lack until evening, which caused some regret.

She is generally considered handsome and well favoured, were not her eyes and eyebrows too light; for the rest it appears to me that nature *optime suplevit*: she is slight, rather than defective from corpulence, and conducts herself with so much grace, and has such good manners, that for her age of 18 years—and she does not look more—she is a paradise.

On the road, in advance of her, were some fifty of her squires (*scudieri*), dressed in silk of several sorts, with gold collars worth from 50 to 60 ducats each, some more, some less. Next came the Duke of Norfolk, the ambassadors, and other lords and barons, in pairs, according to grade, making a very fine show, all clad either in cloth of gold or silk of various qualities, in riding gear, and all wearing enormous gold collars, some doubled and some trebled, round their necks, whilst some wore them prisoner fashion; so that never was such pomp witnessed; and the greater part of them had velvet bonnets, some of one colour and some of another. The most noble took place nearest the Queen, a little in advance of whom were her two heralds with the coats of arms, in the fashion and with the devices of England; farther on marched eight trumpeters clad in crimson damask; then came the macers with gilt maces surmounted by a royal crown; near them were two grooms dressed in short doublets of cloth of gold with velvet caps, who followed, each leading a palfrey; and there were two other palfreys caparisoned with cloth of gold, ridden by two pages dressed in like manner in cloth of gold with velvet caps.

The Queen herself was in the same costume and situation as already mentioned, and the Dauphin constantly beside her.

At her stirrup were two running footmen in doublets of cloth of gold and velvet caps, like the grooms aforesaid.

After her came a very handsome litter, borne by two large horses,







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on which were two other pages dressed like the aforesaid. It was covered with cloth of gold, figured with lilies, the housings of the horses being of similar materials. In front of the litter and at its back the emblems of France and England were displayed, namely, fleurs-de-lys and roses, one half red and the other half white, and at the sides and above and below were the dolphin and roses.

Next in succession came five damsels on palfreys trapped with cloth of gold, the damsels being clad in their own fashion in divers ways, some in silk and some in cloth of gold.

Then followed a carriage\* (*chareta*) covered with cloth of gold, having a large flowered pattern, the trapping of the six horses which drew it being of the same material, and in it were seated four damsels.

After these came six other damsels on palfreys, trapped with cloth of gold and murrey velvet figured, each damsel being attended by her running footman.

Then another carriage (*chareta*) with a covering of cloth of gold and murrey velvet, figured, drawn by six horses trapped with similar cloth, and five damsels inside it.

Next came six other damsels on palfreys trapped with murrey velvet, with their running footmen.

Then followed the other carriage (*chareta*), with six horses, covered and lined with murrey velvet, and after it came 10 other damsels on palfreys trapped with murrey velvet, with white and light blue silk fringe.

The Queen has brought some tapestry of cloth of gold and of silk of very large dimensions, more beautiful than any ever seen, with the arms of France and England united.

Last of all, 200 archers, one third of whom were clad in doublets of green satin, with overcoats of cloth of — (*pano de Tureto*) — belts (*cinte bigarade*) of black velvet, with shaggy red and white hats (*cum li capelli bianchi pellosi rosi*). The second and third divisions were clad, part in black doublets — “*de ziponi negri, cum sagli Veretini, suii camellini*” — and shaggy white hats on their heads, the last division wearing black doublets and grey hats, all marching processionally in pairs.

Your right reverend Lordship must not be surprised at my representing well nigh everything in the superlative degree, for the reality exceeds my description, to the great glory of this Queen.

“*Madame*,” being slightly indisposed, was unable to go out of the town to meet her, but greeted her in the middle of the square, and accompanied her to her palace.

In the evening, after supper, great entertainments were given, with dancing and music resounding to the skies, and according to her country people, the Queen delights but in hearing singing, instrumental music, and in dancing.

At the other end of the town, on the same evening, a great fire broke out, and burnt four houses near us, without being able to do

\* I am always at a loss whether to translate *carriage* or *wagon*. The horses seem to have been harnessed one before the other. I believe that vehicles resembling carriages were not in use before the middle of the 16th century.







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us any harm, because the river flowed between; yet the wind was very high, and carried the flames towards the neighbouring houses, especially in the direction of the Venetian ambassador's house; but I believe our prayers saved us. We Italians were not without fear, being so near the spot, and by reason of the quality of those hovels, but God was merciful to us. The fire made greater progress than it would have done had it been permitted to ring the bells, but this was forbidden, to avoid disturbing the King at his amusements; and his people, not knowing anything of the fire, could not give assistance.

Dated Abbeville, 8th of October.

This morning, at about an hour and half after day-break, the most Christian King and the Queen Mary of England, having to be joined together and to consummate their marriage, the Queen aforesaid [went forth], accompanied by the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Dorset, the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Surrey, Lord Monteaule, Lord ——— (“Monsigr. Learnande,” *sic*), and by her other lords and knights, all in pairs well arrayed, some in cloth of gold and some in velvet, damasks, and satins, though the greater part of them were clad in cloth of gold, some of one sort and some of another, the greater part of their gowns being lined with most beautiful sables, and some with other very fine furs, which they did not wear on their entry. They had all most massive gold chains, so that some, I think, must have found it burdensome to carry them; some wore them single round the neck, but very large, some doubled and trebled, and some doubled six times, whilst others had them a hand's breadth and very long, so that never was such magnificence beheld.

The Queen was preceded by 26 knights, who walked in pairs, processionally, and a little in advance of her were her two heralds and the macers with their maces.

Beside her were the aforesaid Duke of Norfolk and the Marquis of Dorset, with her other earls and barons, all cap in hand; then followed her gentlewomen and damsels, in number 13, one after the other, each between two gentlemen cap in hand, who accompanied her into the King's chamber, where but few other persons could enter save the princes of France, the Cardinals of Auch and Bayeux (who performed the mass), a few bishops, barons, and captains, and some of the house stewards. I am unable to write details of what took place in the hall [as an eye-witness], for I could not enter it, but I understand that this morning the King had preparation made there for the mass, and that the Queen arrived there, preceded by 70 persons, including trumpeters and English gentlemen. The King doffed his bonnet; the Queen curtsied down to the ground, and the King kissed her, and the treasurer Robertet presented to the King a necklace with two beautiful jewels, which his Majesty placed round the Queen's neck; whereupon mass was said. The two candles were held, the one by Monseigneur de Vendôme, the other by the Prince de Vendôme, and after the King had kissed the “*pax*” at the mass, he kissed the Queen.

After the mass, the Bishop of Bayeux gave the consecrated wafer, one half to the King and the other to the Queen, who kissed and







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then swallowed it; after which she departed making a graceful curtsey.

The King's gentlemen of the chamber were all there in line, as far as they could reach, with their maces in their hands, and after them came the archers of the guard in great number, making a very fine show.

The French princes, namely Monseigneur the Dauphin, Alençon, Vendôme, Loraine, and the Admiral, the Lord Steward, the Duke of Albany, the Master of the Horse, and the Marquis of Rothelin, La Trimouille, and all the other lords, barons, and gentlemen, and in short the whole court, displayed great sumptuousness in their habiliments, most especially with regard to cloth of gold, some of one sort and some of another; amongst which that of the Master of the Horse\* was considered the handsomest and most superb gown there, being cloth of gold "*soprarizo*," lined with sables. On Saturday evening, he received a piece of cloth of gold, for which he had sent to Italy by a messenger express; it cost 116 crowns a yard (*canna*), and he had it made up in a single night. It is said to have cost him 2,000 crowns.

The mass having been performed by the aforesaid Cardinal de Bayeux, everybody withdrew to dine, always in the palace of the King, where open house was kept for all comers during three days.

After the dinner they commenced dancing until evening. The most Christian King had the Queen dressed in French costume, and they gave a ball, the whole court banqueting, dancing, and making good cheer; and thus at the eighth hour, before midnight, the Queen was taken away from the entertainment by "Madame," to go and sleep with the King.

The next morning, the 10th, the King seemed very jovial and gay, and in love, [to judge] by his countenance. Thrice did he cross the river last night, and would have done more, had he chosen (*tre volte questa nocte ha passato la riviera, et più l'haveria facto, se l'havesse voluto*).†

The joust will be postponed at the request of these English lords, who seem to wish to tilt, and the King of England means to send them the Captain Talbot.

Last Tuesday, after the entertainments and rejoicings made, the King had a fit of the gout in his foot, which gave him much pain, so that he could not depart on his way to Paris, as had been intended.

On the same day, the English who accompanied the Queen were dismissed for their return home, with the exception of the ambassadors, and some few (*alquanti*) attendants for her own person.

To the chief English lords and barons, the King had presents made of silver plate of various sorts to the amount of 30,000 francs each (*per trenta millia franchi particolarmente*), and caused all the expenses incurred by them in this town to be defrayed. A part went away yesterday, and the rest today.

To each of the eight trumpeters who came with the Queen from

\* An Italian, Galeazzo di San Severino. In Mr. Brewer's Calendar, vol. i. p. 898, no. 5482, he is styled "Grand Esquire."

† See also p. 204.







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England, the King caused 150 crowns to be given. Monseigneur d'Angoulême gave them each 50; and "Madame" as many more; all the other French princes gave them something.

To avoid putting the English aforesaid to expense, the King prohibited his trumpeters, fifers, musicians, singers, and all others, at the peril of their lives, from going to play or sing in their dwellings as mendicants.

To La Meth (*sic*) who is in the service of Mons. de Longueville, the Queen has given those five pence which are paid to her by all hosiers of the kingdom, forming a total of 20,000 francs.\*

Mons. de Concrasault (*Concursallo*) has been made Lord Steward to the Queen; they wanted to appoint Malabayla (*sic*), but he would not accept.

The Queen when she drank was served by an Englishman, who was clad in gold brocade, and who remained the whole time on his knees, the like being done by the one who tasted for her, bare headed, without his bonnet.

Dated Abbeville, 14th October 1514.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 18.

512. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 173.

London, 25th October.

Had received the letter from the Senate, announcing the appointment of ambassadors to congratulate the King. Demands money. Has consigned the Signory's letter to the King. Nothing of importance.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20.

513. "A FAITHFUL FRIEND" to the SIGNORY.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 179.

Paris, 1st November.

The King had departed from ———, and was come towards Paris, and on the way slept two nights with the Queen; was free from gout, and warm upon the Italian expedition. Had mustered 10,000 lansquenets, 6,000 English, 4,000 French, and 200 spears.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 20.

514. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 179.

London, 25th October.

Many noblemen who accompanied the Queen to France, were returned, having been much honoured and caressed.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 26.

515. ANNOUNCEMENT made to the COLLEGE by the ambassador from France, that the King was attending with his whole heart to the Italian expedition for the spring. Also that the

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 189.

\* "La Regina ha donato ala Meth che sta cum Monsr. de Longavilla quelli soldi cinque che pagano tutti li *calcetarij* del regno ad essa Regina, che importa più de 20 milia franchi." See also *ante*, p. 204. In this second notice of the tax, the tradesmen subject to it are styled *calcetarij*, not *caletarij*, so there can be no doubt of the meaning of the word. In Spain, the perquisites of the Queens were derived from *chopines*; in France, from *hose*.





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Ferrarese ambassador in Venice had received letters from his Duke, who heard from Paris, in date of the 2nd November, that the English captain, the Duke of Suffolk, had arrived there, sent by the King of England to the King of France, to urge the prosecution of the Italian expedition, and to promise the aid of 6,000 English infantry.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 28.

## 516. EMBASSY to FRANCE and ENGLAND.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxviii. p. 10.

Decree of the Council of Ten for payment to Francesco Donato and Pietro Pasqualigo of 600 (*sic*) ducats each, salary for six months, at the rate of 120 ducats a month, to be disbursed by the treasury of the Ten. As they are going to remote parts, it is fitting that they should have a certain amount of money in hand, according to the custom followed by the Ten with regard to other ambassadors going far afield. Therefore, on the expiration of three months from the day of their departure, the treasury of the Ten to pay one month's salary (and thus in like manner from month to month successively,) to Alvise Pisani, the banker, or to such person or persons as shall supply the ambassadors with letters of credit, so that they may always have two months' salary in hand.

Ayes, 25. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin, 17 lines.*]

Nov. 29.

## 517. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 193.

Dated 25th November.

The Pope had elected four Cardinal legates to the potentates of the world to negotiate peace; namely, to the Emperor, Bibiena; to France, Medici; to Spain, Remollino; to England, Grassis.

[*Italian.*]

Nov. 30.

## 518. LETTER dated PARIS, November 13, 1514.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. pp. 196-  
198.

On the first day the jousts held there for the marriage of the Queen commenced at about noon, in the presence of the King and Queen and many princes, princesses, lords, and ladies. Names of the challengers and their aids. Especial mention that the English Duke of Suffolk broke many spears, and was one of the challengers, as also the Marquis of Dorset; and on the second day the two English lords, the Duke of Suffolk and the Marquis of Dorset, did remarkably well, and shivered many spears.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 1.

## 519. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 199.

Appearance in the College of Francesco Donado and Piero Pasqualigo, ambassadors to France and England. Receipt by them, through Rome, of a safeconduct from Otaviano di Campo Fregoso, Doge of Genoa, to go there and to pass into Provence. Determination for their departure in the following week: 15 horses purchased for them, already at Treviso, and the remainder, 22 in all, to be taken with them [from Venice]. Alvise Rosso and Nicolò Sagudino to be their secretaries. Note, by Sanuto, that they had already received — ducats each; and that the bill of exchange







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was being prepared, as likewise the presents for conveyance to the Queen of France.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 4.

Misti

Consiglio X.

v. xxxviii. p. 16.

**520. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

Arrival at Venice of the Papal secretary, Pietro Bembo. Proposals made to them by him in the Pope's name, with a threat of invasion from the Duke of Milan, Spain, Genoa, the King of the Romans, and others, aided by the Switzers, in case of refusal. Made answer commending the Pope's wish for peace, but saying that similar terms had been frequently rejected by them when in worse plight, and when the King of France was molested by the English and others; whereas he was now free, and resolved to make the expedition with a very powerful army.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 48 lines.*]

Dec. 4.

Misti

Consiglio X.

v. xxxviii. p. 15.

**521. DECREE of the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA concerning a present to be made to MARY TUDOR, QUEEN OF FRANCE.**

That, as ambassadors are being sent by the Signory with congratulations on the marriage of the most Christian King and his consort, to whom it is fitting to make a present, the Council of Ten do authorize the College either to send her the large balass and pearl now in the possession of the noble Zacharia Gabriel,—as guarantee for the security given by him to the Reverend Pietro Grimani for the moneys which he (Grimani?) lent to the Signory, for the purchase of said present,—or else to expend 1,000 ducats in cloths of silk and gold; and in like manner to send to Monsr. Robertet, as a present, either cash, or a jewel, or something else, under the value of 1,000 ducats.

Ayes, 22. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 14 lines.*]

Dec. 7.

Senato Mar.

v. xviii. p. 50.

**522. DECREE of the SENATE.**

Mention of the contract made by Piero da Cha da Pesaro with the King of England to supply him with a great quantity of bowstaves. That he had been unable to send them in Venetian ships on account of the war, and that the King had heretofore written to the Signory on the subject.

Motion made for a permit authorizing Piero da Pesaro to send the bows in foreign vessels, together with 500 butts of wine of Candia, for this once, notwithstanding the Act passed to the contrary; and that in like manner all other Venetian noblemen and citizens be allowed to send wines and bows to England at the good pleasure of the Senate.

Ayes, 147. Noes, 41. Neutrals, 0.

Dec. 7.

Sanuto Diaries,

v. xix. pp. 207,

208.

**523. MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.**

Paris, 19th November.

Preparations of the King for the Italian expedition. Would send a powerful army. Was to have an interview, it seemed, at Christmas, with the King of England.

[*Italian.*]







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Dec. 7.

**524. VENETIAN BOWS for ENGLAND.**Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 208.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages for an export-permit in favour of Piero da Cà da Pesaro, allowing him, in conformity with a contract made by him with the King of England, to send his Majesty certain bows in a foreign vessel; which vessel to be also at liberty to complete her cargo by loading wines in Candia, notwithstanding the Act prohibiting foreign bottoms from shipping wines there without payment [of the extra duty of 18s. a butt]. Also that others may load wines for England in foreign vessels.\*

Ayes, 147. Noes, 41.

[Italian.]

Dec. 11.

**525. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.**Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 211.

Dated 8th December.

The Pope had written to the King of England to dissuade the King of France from coming into Italy to seize the duchy of Milan, and induce him to arrange matters and unite Christendom, but received for answer, that his Holiness knew that the King of France had been the greatest enemy King Henry had, on which account there had been a great war between them; that they had subsequently made peace and allied themselves with each other by marriage; and that King Henry, becoming acquainted with the claims of King Lewis upon the Milanese, had exhorted him to send an army to recover it, and would give him every assistance.

The Switzers, on hearing that the French were preparing for the invasion of Italy, held diets to assist the duchy of Milan, which were attended by envoys from all the enemies of Milan, but the Switzers would insist on money.

[Italian.]

Dec. 12.

**526. LETTERS PATENT from DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO,**Commemoriale,  
v. xx. p. 13,  
tergo.

approving and confirming the nomination by Henry VIII. of the Venetian Signory as his confederates, in the treaty made with Lewis XII.

Alludes to the goodwill and friendship professed by the Signory for the Kings of England, especially Henry VIII., who had so effectually interceded with Pope Julius II. The King, of his extreme justice, had included the Signory in the peace lately made by him with Lewis, King of the French, to the great satisfaction of the State, who immediately appointed ambassadors to King Henry, both to congratulate him on the marriage [of the Lady Mary], and also to return thanks for the nomination, and for other acts; charging

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\* As seen in date July 1, 1499, the Signory announced to Henry VII. their repeal of a duty of 4 ducats a butt on wines conveyed from Candia under any other flag than the Venetian. This duty had been imposed in 1489; it was met by a duty of 18 shillings on each butt of Malmsey brought to England in Venetian vessels. The King not having consented to repeal the duty in 1499, the law exacting 4 ducats for each butt loaded by foreign vessels in Candia remained in force, though exemptions were occasionally granted, as appears by the Senate's registers "Mar," date 14 May 1500, and above in December 1514.







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them also, in order to render the ratification more conspicuous and valid, to present the letters patent.

[*Latin*, 27 lines.]

Dec. 14.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 78.

**527. REPLY of the SENATE to the PAPAL SECRETARY and AMBASSADOR, Pietro Bembo.**

Request the Pope to defend their very just cause, as they seek nothing but selfdefence, and lest the craft of the enemy drag his Holiness and the State whither they would not. Remind him of the great power of the King of France, of his firm intention to recover the Milanese, of the favour shown him by the King of England, of the great share he has in Italy, and how at all times he and his most Christian predecessors had always been devoted to the Apostolic See.

Ayes, 97. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 58 lines.]

Dec. 14.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 79,  
tergo.

**528. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.**

Commission from Doge Leonardo Loredano to Francesco Donato, knight, and Pietro Pasqualigo, doctor and knight, ambassadors on their way to France and England.

Pasqualigo appointed ambassador to the King of France, and Donato to the King of England.

To go in the first place to France, and congratulate the King and Queen on their marriage. Having taken leave of King Lewis, they are to proceed to England, and congratulate the King and Queen on the marriage with the most Christian King, and request King Henry to urge the most Christian King to prosecute the attack on Lombardy already commenced. To visit such English noblemen as the ambassador Badoer shall notify, and keep them well disposed towards the Signory; after which, Pasqualigo to return to France, and Donato to remain in England, that Badoer may return home.

Has consigned to them a silk hat (*uno capello di seda*), and a balass-ruby, with a pear-shaped pearl as pendant, in a jewel case, to be given to the Queen of France at their first audience. On presenting it, the pendant to be attached to the hat-band (*ala stringeta del capello*). With the pendant are two rings, namely a ruby and a diamond, which they are to give privily to the French secretary Robertet, as a mark of love, in the Signory's name.

[*Italian*, 77 lines.]

Dec. 14.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 79.

**529. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.**

Memorandum that by reason of the illness of Francesco Donato, knight, Sebastian Giustinian, knight, was elected in his stead. Lorenzo Pasqualigo to wait for him at Lyons.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 14.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 80.

**530. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

Letter of recall from the Doge and Senate addressed to Marco Dandolo.

[*Latin*, 9 lines.]







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Dec. 14.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 80.

**531. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.**

Letter of recall from the Doge and Senate for Sebastian Badoer.

[*Latin, 6 lines.*]

Dec. 15.

Misti  
Consiglio X.,  
v. xxxviii. p. 20,  
tergo.

**532. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

The King of France wished England to attack Spain, and sought an interview with King Henry. The latter would, however, not consent, delayed any conference, and would not give the 6,000 English infantry. The Christian King, so far from obtaining 16,000 lansquenets, would with difficulty raise 4,000.

[*Italian, 24 lines.*]

Dec. 17.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 217.

**533. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.**

Departure on that morning of Piero Pasqualigo, ambassador to France. He and his colleague Francesco Donado took leave of the Signory. Were to go by way of Ferrara, Florence, and Genoa, and to pass thence by sea into Provence; but in the evening Donado, whilst at supper, had an apoplectic fit, and was unable to depart. His recovery not being anticipated for some days, Pasqualigo went to Chioggia, there to await instructions.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 17.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 225.

**534. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.**

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages, for the election of an ambassador to England instead of Francesco Donado, who, from ill health, was unable to go, and had offered to give back 510 of the 600 ducats given him, having spent 90 for salaries of attendants, &c., that sum to be defrayed by the Signory.

The ambassador elect, should he accept office, to depart within ten days, under penalty of 500 ducats.

Ballot taken, and election of Sebastian Giustinian, knight, who took time to reply until the following morning.

[*Italian.*]

Dec. 18.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxviii. p. 22.

**535. DECREE of the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA, concerning the BALASS and PEARL destined for MARY TUDOR.**

The College having determined to send to the most Christian Queen, by the ambassadors to France and England, the balass and pearl: declared that the said balass is the one which was formerly in the hands of the Procurators of St. Mark, and by order of the College given to Zacharia Gabriel, and which is now taken from him and sent to France.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 8 lines.*]

Dec. 19.

Senato Terra,  
v. xviii. p. 177.

**536. EMBASSY to FRANCE and ENGLAND.**

Pietro Pasqualigo appointed ambassador to France and England. Put to the ballot that, by authority of this Council, the said Piero





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Pasqualigo may take with him silver for the value of 400 ducats at the Signory's risk.

Ayes, 157. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 6 lines.]

Dec. 19.  
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta).  
File no. 3.

**537.** The DOGE and COLLEGE to PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Venetian Ambassador on his way to France and England.

Would receive from the secretary, Andrea Rosso, a box containing another box of black velvet, with a gilt handle, enclosing a white silk hat and appendages. Would also find a small case containing two rings, in one of which was a large ruby, and in the other a diamond; also a pendant balass, with a pear-shaped pearl beneath it, which balass was to be fastened to the hat.

Is ordered to dispose of the three articles as enjoined him by his commission; and to announce the receipt of all the jewels in detail by letter in his own hand.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 19.  
Deliberazioni Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 82.

**538.** The DOGE and SENATE to MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassador in France.

In a recent despatch he mentioned having been told by King Lewis that a new league would shortly be formed between him, England, the Signory, and the Pope. In reply, he is to announce their full consent.

[*Italian*, 16 lines.]

Dec. 19.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 219.

**539.** VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.

Dated 15th December.

Details his conversations with the Pope. Mentions the receipt of advices that the King of England had written to the King of Spain that he would proclaim war against him, should he oppose the King of France; and that he (the Pope?) meant to give Parma and Piacenza to the Duke of Milan.

Apparently, the King of France and the King of England were to hold a conference on St. Thomas's day [29th December] at ———.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 21.  
Commemoriale,  
v. xx. p. 12.

**540.** PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Ambassador to France and England, to the STATE.

Chioggia, 21st December 1514.

Announces the arrival of his secretary Andrea Rosso, who, besides his commission, consigned to him the silk hat and the balass with its pearl, as pendant for the hat; also the diamond and ruby set in two rings. Expects his horses in an hour, and purposes departing for Ferrara at daybreak on the morrow.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 27.  
Deliberazioni Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 82.

**541.** EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate, owing to the illness of Francesco Donado, ambassador elect to France and England.

After taking leave of the Signory, he had a grievous and perilous fit, and in the present severe weather could not depart without risk





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of his life. Understanding the State required the immediate departure of himself or his successor, he has intimated to the Signory that notwithstanding the expenses incurred by him for his own outfit, and four or five months' wages in advance (as usual) for his attendants, amounting to upwards of 200 ducats, he is content that some one be appointed in his stead.

Ballot accordingly for his successor. Is to refund the 600 ducats received on account; but it not being fair for him to incur the entire loss of the 200 ducats, especially of the sums given to others, it was moved that he be reimbursed the monies paid for salaries of attendants, for drink-money given to horse dealers, for the purchase of horses and their conveyance, and other irrecoverable expenditure, which does not exceed 90 ducats. The remaining 510 ducats to be paid by him immediately to the person elected in his stead, to whom the Signory will make good the balance required to complete the 600 ducats. The individual elected to reply this evening, if in Venice; if not, tomorrow morning; and after accepting, to depart within ten days, under penalty of 500 golden ducats.

Ayes, 192. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

Elected, Sebastian Giustinian, knight, who accepted.

[*Italian*, 25 lines.]

Dec. 27.

## 542. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 227.

Paris, 28th November.

On the 27th the King had departed for St. Germain, in Picardy, to confer with the King of England, who was to cross over to France, and King Lewis would go straight to meet him on hearing of his arrival.

He himself had remained in Paris. St. Germain was three days' journey thence.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 27.

## 543. LANDO, Venetian Ambassador in ROME, to the STATE.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 226.

Dated 17th, 21st, and 23rd December.

The Pope had absolved the Bishop de Giglis, ambassador of the King of England, who was in custody accused of having poisoned the Cardinal of England, but who was found not guilty.

Had conversed with the Cardinal Bibiena about the interview to be held between the Kings of France and England, which was important.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 27.

## 544. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 227.

Scrutiny in the Senate for an ambassador to England,—twenty-two nominees.

Ballot resulted in favour of Sebastian Giustinian, knight.

Ayes, 131. Noes, 74.

[*Italian*.]

Dec. 28.

## 545. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 228.

Appearance in the College of Sebastian Giustinian, knight. Acceptance by him of the post of ambassador to England. Requested





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the Signory to increase the salary of 120 ducats, as in reality it could not cover the expenses, because in England it was requisite to entertain constantly, and to keep a good table.

[*Italian.*]

## A.D. 1515.

1515.

Jan. 2.

Misti

Consiglio X.,

v. xxxviii. p. 38,

tergo.

**546. DECREE** of the COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA, concerning the debts of ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Necessity for the despatch of the ambassador elect to England, through whom provision to be made for the return of the ambassador Andrea Badoer, who is debtor for a considerable sum of money, including bills of exchange drawn by him in favour of the Prior of St. John's (Sir Thomas Docwra), which had not been paid. It being, therefore, necessary to consign letters of credit for 1,100 ducats to the ambassador on his way to England, that he may free Badoer from the debts contracted by him for his living, as mentioned in so many of his letters,—Put to the ballot that, by authority of the Ten, the "Ternaria"\* be pledged to the banker Almorò Pisani, for 1,000 ducats, videlicet, one month before the bills become due, and that for the remaining 1,100 ducats (*sic*), security be given him on the wine duties, for the month in which intelligence shall be received of his having paid that sum, or such part of it as shall be disbursed on account, in England. The letters of credit to be consigned to the ambassador on his way to England, with such commission as the College shall think fit.

Ayes, 21.

Amendment,—That the present motion do not alter the monthly salary of 70 ducats payable to Andrea Badoer, ambassador in England.

Ayes, 5. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Motion in Italian: proposed amendment in Latin, 21 lines.*]

Jan. 3.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 238.

**547. MARCO DANDOLO**, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Paris, 8th December.

Had been to the King, who was with the Queen at St. Germain, taking his pleasure, and awaiting a reply from the King of England about the interview.

Urged the King to come speedily into Italy. His Majesty replied that he thought of nothing else, and meant to go to Lyons immediately, to arrange the Milanese expedition. That he purposed having two camps, and held the Switzers in no account. That he had ordered the roll of his troops, and should have 27,000 infantry, 2,000 spears, and 800 light horse. He would never abandon his

\* A branch of the customs.





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alliance with the Signory, who was to be of good cheer, as everything would turn out well; and as the King of England would perhaps not cross over to France, so much the sooner would his Majesty proceed to Lyons.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix.  
p. 240, 241.

#### 548. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Motion made in the Senate by the counsellors and sages, for a grant of additional salary to Sebastian Giustinian, ambassador elect to England, as 120 ducats a month were not sufficient, by reason of the great cost it was necessary to incur in that embassy; wherefore they moved to increase it by 20 ducats, as had been done in the case of other ambassadors.

Objection made by Marco Miani, one of the Forty, the enemy of Giustinian, because Giustinian had arraigned Zuan Francesco Miani, late Count of Sebenico, and caused him to be confined in the "*Camera novissima.*"

It was said from the tribune that the motion was informal, and could not be made. The statute was quoted, but the State attornies would not allow the motion to be put. Thereupon the counsellors and sages moved for permission, notwithstanding the law, to make a motion for the increase as above, which permission was carried; but the grant of the additional ducats, when moved accordingly, was negatived.

Reply to Miani, made by Sebastian Giustinian, who desired to discuss his treatment of the Count of Spalatro, but he was told to keep to the question. So he cited the increase of salary granted by amendments to Antonio Condulmer in France, to Hironimo Donado in Rome, to Piero Pasqualigo in Hungary, and to others, after the original motions had been carried, adding that he went willingly, but had not sufficient means to do honour to the Signory in England, because there was always great feasting there (*perchè sempre si sta su gran cere*). Note by Sanuto, that in order that Giustinian might undertake the mission cheerfully, (and as on accepting it, he mentioned being creditor for twenty-five livres gross [= 300 golden ducats] due to him from the treasury of Padua, for arrears of salary when vicelord of Ferrara,) they balloted for him to receive the money in Venice, the governors of Padua being written to, to remit it to the treasurers; he being also told to leave his arraignment of Miani, and the trial, to the State attornies, who would do what was requisite for their despatch.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 3.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvi. p. 84,  
tergo.

#### 549. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.

Commission from Doge Leonardo Loredano to Sebastian Giustinian, knight, ambassador on his way to France and England.

To proceed to join Pietro Pasqualigo, who had been charged to wait for him at Lyons. Have given him a letter of credit for 1,000 ducats from Almorò Pisani, of the bank, for his predecessor, now on the point of quitting England, to be applied in payment of the debts contracted by him there. Giustinian, before making this







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payment, to ascertain the particulars of the loan, and on finding it a just debt to liquidate it duly.

[*Italian, 16 lines.*]

Jan. 4.

**550. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.**

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvi. p. 84,  
tergo.

Motion made in the Senate and lost, concerning an increase of the ambassador's salary.

Ayes, - 123 - 123

Noes, - 64 - 67

Neutrals, 1 - —

Nothing carried, a majority of two-thirds being required.

[*Italian, 10 lines.*]

Jan. 8.

**551. CONFEDERATION between FRANCE and ENGLAND.**

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvi. p. 84,  
tergo.

Decree of the Senate, ratifying the inclusion of the Signory therein, and proposing the registration of letters patent to that effect, antedating them three or four days before the departure of the ambassador Pasqualigo, and consigning the originals to Sebastian Giustinian. The two ambassadors together to present to each of the Kings the letter addressed to him.

[*Italian, 7 lines.*]

[Tenor of the letters patent :—]

Leonardo Loredano, by the grace of God, Doge of the Venetians, etc. Having nothing more at heart than the maintenance of the alliance with Lewis, King of the French, Duke of Milan and Genoa, hereby ratifies the inclusion of himself and the Signory as confederates of his most Christian Majesty in the peace lately made by him with Henry, King of England and Lord of Ireland, and with the Senate.

[*Latin, 14 lines.*]

Jan. 8.

**552. LEONARDO LOREDANO, by the grace of God, DOGE OF the VENETIANS, etc.**

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvi. p. 84,  
tergo.

On receipt of the news that Henry, King of England, had, in the peace lately contracted with Lewis, King of the French, Duke of Milan and Genoa, included the Signory amongst his confederates, had immediately appointed ambassadors to King Henry, to congratulate him on the marriage, to return thanks for the inclusion, and to ratify the league. Had given them letters patent to that effect for presentation to his Majesty.

Ayes, 177. Noes, 16. Neutrals, 0.

Dated 12th December 1514.

[*Latin, 23 lines.*]

Jan. 8.

**553. DANDOLO, Ambassador in France, to the STATE.**

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. pp. 245,  
246.

Paris, 22nd December.

Return thither from St. Germain of the King with the gout. Said in reply to the ambassador's exhortations, that he should come speedily into Italy :—

"Ambassador ! urge me no more, and heat not yourself, for I am warmer than you, and the expedition shall soon be undertaken.







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This gout rather troubles me. We shall soon have 24,000 lansquenets, 6,000 English, 2,000 spears, and 800 light horse; and on the day of the Epiphany everything will be arranged; then by Candlemas I shall be at Lyons, send on the troops into Italy, and have with me my guard of 8,000 foot and 1,000 men at arms. Should a few Switzers come, we shall not heed them; if they muster in great number, we will procrastinate and not give battle; they cannot stay long, as they insist on 100,000 ducats a month, which the Pope and the others will give them for one month, but not for more."

Said also that he had written to the Pope to decide whether he would be with him or not.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 247.

**554.** MOTION made in the SENATE by the SAGES for a letter to be written to France, announcing the Signory's adhesion to the agreement between France and England, it being time for the Signory to ratify.

Similar motion made also for a letter of the same tenor to the Venetian ambassador in England, that the Signory joined the league, and would share the fortunes of his Majesty and of France.

Both motions carried.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 8.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 246.

**555.** ANDREA BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the STATE.

Dated — December [1514.]

It was said the King would go to France to parley with King Lewis. Also that on the —, the Queen had been delivered of a still-born male child of eight months, to the very great grief of the whole Court.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 10.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 248.

**556.** DEPARTURE on that morning, by way of Ferrara, of Sebastian Giustinian, knight, on his embassy to England.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 11.

Consiglio X.  
Criminal, v. ii.  
p. 81.

**557.** The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to PIETRO PASQUALIGO, LL.D., and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Knight, Ambassadors on their way to France and England.

As the unheard of iniquities and most perfidious rebellion of Augustin Coppo are well known to them, will not dilate thereon further, but desire him (Giustinian) to communicate the whole both to his colleague (Pasqualigo) and the ambassador in France, on arriving there, that he may keep on the watch against fraud, should no accident have occurred before their arrival; for, by the statement of Zuan Badoer, ambassador, lately returned from Spain, they understand that Coppo had proceeded to France, after attempting, many months ago, to seize Badoer's writings and ciphers. Inform them that the attempt having failed, he quitted Spain, but it was subsequently heard that he was gone towards France, having







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promised his Catholic Highness (Ferdinand of Arragon) to perform a great and important mission, the nature of which is not known, though the matter may assuredly be deemed one of great moment and of extreme daring. Should the ambassadors ascertain that Coppo had already arrived in France, and should he still be in that country, they are to do their utmost with his most Christian Majesty, and avail themselves of the favour of such lords as they deem fitting, not merely to arrest Coppo, but that he may be put to death, according to the deserts of his most iniquitous, detestable, and horrible crimes, which they are to detail to the King.

[*Italian, 29 lines.*]

Jan. 12.  
Original Letter  
Book in  
St. Mark's  
Library;  
Letter no. 1.

**558.** SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador on his way to England, to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Has received a letter from them, and will obey their commands, concerning the outlaw Coppo.  
Chioggia, 12th January 1515.

[*Italian, 5 lines.\**]

Jan. 13.  
Ib.  
Letter no. 2.

**559.** SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Announces news received by him of the death of Lewis XII.  
Goro, 13th January 1515.

[*Italian, 11 lines.*]

Jan. 13.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreto,  
v. xlvi. p. 88.

**560.** The DOGE and SENATE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassador on his way to France and England.

The news of the demise of the King of France was true, he having died in Paris on the night of the 1st.

To continue his journey to Lyons, where he and his colleague are to await further orders from the State. Enclose a letter for Pasqualigo, desiring him not to deliver the presents until further orders.

[*Italian, 16 lines.*]

Jan. 13.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreto,  
v. xlvi. p. 88.

**561.** The DOGE and SENATE to PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Ambassador on his way to France and England.

Notwithstanding the death of the King of France, to hasten his journey to Lyons, there to await his colleague, and remain until the receipt of fresh instructions. To retain in his own possession the presents which he was to have delivered in France, until further orders.

Ayes, 183. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 10 lines.*]

Jan. 13.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. pp. 251,  
252.

**562.** MARCO DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Paris, 24th December, and 1st January.

Announces the arrival of the Duke of Bourbon and other captains. The King was suffering very much, and had the gout in his back, which pained him greatly, and had weakened him.

\* Each line of the original MS. contains on an average twelve words.





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In date of the 1st writes that at the — hour his Majesty was in *extremis*, and had received extreme unction. At the 6th hour his messenger had returned from the palace, and brought back word that at that hour the most Christian King had expired.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13.

## 563. The FRENCH AMBASSADOR at VENICE.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 252.

The French ambassador came into the College. Had heard of the death of his King. Said there was no occasion for alarm on that account. Spoke about the Queen, the sister of the King of England; she might be pregnant. According to the agreement which the deceased King had made with England, the peace was perpetual, and to last one year after the death of either of the parties; so that for this year there is no fear of war with England.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13.

## 564. RELATIONS between ENGLAND and SPAIN.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. pp. 253,  
254.

Report of Spain made in the Senate by Zuan Badoer, doctor and knight, ambassador returned thence. He had filled the post for 31 months, having passed from Rome to Spain.

The King was 63 years old, having been born on the 10th March 1452; was apoplectic and tremulous (*tremolante*); went out hunting often; transacted his business alone, taking no counsel with any of the grandees, but rather with persons of the lowest condition. Does not reply to the proposals made to him by ambassadors, but says, "I will write my reply to the ambassador over there." Does this that he may be able to say, "I wrote in good form, but they acted in their own fashion; I did not write to that effect;"—a subterfuge worthy of "Zachagno."\* Says he does not wish for a single battlement in Italy, save what belongs to his kingdom [of Naples], but that what he does, he does for the Emperor. Amount of his revenues, 700,000 ducats. From the benefices held by him in Castile he derives 200,000 ducats. From the other kingdoms of which he had taken possession in addition to Castile, namely, Arragon and ———, 90,000 ducats. From the newly discovered islands and the gold, 50,000 ducats. From Naples and that kingdom, 300,000 ducats. From the bull of the crusade he levies 60,000 ducats.

The Queen his wife, a French woman, the sister of Monseigneur de Foix, was very fat, and he (Badoer) is of opinion she will not bear children.

It is said the King gives 20,000 ducats annually to Madame Margaret, the Emperor's daughter, to keep the Archduke (Charles of Burgundy), her nephew, in Flanders, lest he go and deprive him of Castile. The younger brother, Don Ferdinand, is in Spain, at the Court, and the King approves his popularity with the young Spanish nobility, for if Archduke Charles should come, they might proclaim this second son for their king.

The King's daughter, Doña Juana, who was the true Queen of Castile, widow of King Philip, was in Spain. She is considered

\* Query, the "*Zany*" of the Venetian stage in 1514.







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mad, and the King says so. She expects her husband to come to life again, and carries his body about with her in a coffin. She says that this resurrection will take place at the end of ten years, of which only three lack for its expiration. She never eats but when it suits her. She visits private houses (*casa di cittadini*), saying she chooses to remain there, and with difficulty is she taken back to her own dwelling. She resides in the town of Tordesillas.

The Duke of Calabria, son of the late King Frederick [of Naples], aged 25 years, was at Xativa in a stronghold under custody. According to report, he tried to escape, and did in fact make the attempt, and on this account Filippo Coppola and Zuam de la Raina were quartered.

Besides hunting, King Ferdinand occupies himself with visiting women (*andar a done*), and playing constantly with his attendants at a game called "Primiero," always losing; and when out hunting, he dismounts at some country house, and plays. He professes that he is the friend of the Signory, and when he heard of the rout in the Vicentine territory, he said he regretted it, but he could not do less. Is on good terms with the Emperor, for the reason aforesaid, as he allows him to rule Spain.

Galeazo Butregario was ambassador at the Court from the Pope.

Everybody in Castile bore ill will to the King, who complained of the French King's marriage to the sister of the King of England, and did his utmost to prevent it, so that the understanding with England is not good, and that with France still less. Details of the great Captain Gonsalvo di Cordova, etc.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13. 565. MOTION made in the SENATE by the SAGES, and carried, Sanuto Diaries, for a letter to be written to Sebastian Giustinian, desiring him to proceed straight on his embassy from Ferrara to Genoa, and thence to Lyons to join his colleague Pasqualigo, both there awaiting instructions from the Signory.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 13. 566. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to KING HENRY VIII. Letter of condolence on the death of his brother-in-law, King Lewis XII.

[*Latin.*]

Jan. 14. 567. The DOGE and COLLEGE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

File no. 3. Lettere del Collegio (Secreta). Together with the present letter, send one of condolence for the King on the death of his brother-in-law.

[*Italian.*]

Jan. 15. 568. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Original Letter Book, St. Mark's Library, Letters nos. 3 and 4. Details conversations held by him with the Duke and Duchess of Ferrara. Doubts entertained by the Duke of the death of Lewis XII. Will obey the instructions given for his guidance in France and England.

Ferrara, 15th and 16th January 1515.

[*Italian, 44 lines.*]







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Jan. 20.

Original  
Letter Book,  
St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 5.

**569. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Gives account of his journey from Ferrara to Pieve.  
Pieve Pelago, 20th January 1515.

[*Italian*,  $\frac{3}{4}$  page.]

Jan. 24.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. pp. 257,  
268.

**570. PIERO LANDO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the STATE.**

Dated 17th and 21st.

Was ill and unable to move. The Pope was out of Rome, hunting, with a number of Cardinals, the chief of whom were San Severino and Cornaro; his Holiness being at La Magnana.

Had received the Signory's letters of the 10th, and had sent his secretary, Hironimo Dedo, to communicate the messages for the Pope therein contained.

His Holiness made answer that the present King of France would be more his friend than the other, and would be related to his brother (Julian de' Medici) through his marriage with Filiberta of Savoy, to effect which he had now quitted Rome. Declared that he wished the Signory to recover her territory, but could not say more until he received letters from France, and must likewise know the state of affairs in England.

In the second letter mentions that he had heard from Cardinal Bibiena, who was in like manner out of Rome taking his pleasure, that this King of France would not come into Italy for the present year, for he would have to think of other matters; especially as he was to pay 200,000 ducats\* dower to the Queen, who intends to return to England; so that he is poor. His predecessor had asked the Pope and the King of England for money for the Italian expedition. The King of France was about to send two ambassadors of rank to England, was warmer for the Italian expedition than before, and would come with more troops than the old King had. Robertet was in repute with him as before, and all the captains had come to Paris.

The Marchioness of Mantua had arrived at Rome, after amusing herself at Naples, and went out hunting with the Pope, and was most extremely pleased.

Note by Sanuto, that the courier said by word of mouth that the Pope was accompanied by — Cardinals and others, with some 3,000 horse, and that they killed 50 stags and 20 wild boars.

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 25.

Original  
Letter Book,  
St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 6.

**571. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Reception given to him by the Republic of Lucca. Projected seizure of Lucca by Leo X. Journey from Florence of Julian de' Medici to celebrate his marriage with Filiberta of Savoy. Amount of soldiery in the pay of the Florentines.

Lucca, 25th January 1515.

[*Italian*, 2 pages.]

\* In the MS. the figures may be read 700,000 or 200,000, but the last amount seems the more probable.







1515.

Jan. 27.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 270.**572. COMMUNICATION made to the COLLEGE by the FERRARESE  
AMBASSADOR.**

The Duke of Ferrara had sent him certain French advices which he had received from Florence. The present King was more anxious about the Italian expedition and to obtain the Milanese than the other, and meant to come in greater force. He was intent on rendering himself popular with the French nobility, and on adjusting everything with England; though, according to the articles, there was to be peace for one year after the death of either of the Kings. The French, in short, would be soon in Italy.

[Italian.]

Jan. 28.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 273.**573. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ROME to the STATE.**

Dated 24th January.

The King went every day to visit the Queen widow, who was sorrowful, lamenting much the death of her husband. The present King meant her to have great power in France, as if she were Queen regnant. The present Queen, daughter of the late King, was pregnant.

[Italian.]

Jan. 30.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. pp. 278,  
279.**574. LETTER dated PARIS, 8th January 1515.**

The most Christian King had been, according to custom, to pay his respects to the remains of the late King Lewis, and then went to the poor young Queen. It was impossible to imagine how much grief she displayed for the death of her King.

The King goes every evening to see the Queen widow, who had no lack of anything in the world, and he told her that, with the exception of the late King, whom she desires, she may dispose of the whole kingdom, even more than before.

An inventory had been made of the carpets (*tapeti*: qu. tapestries?), plate, and jewels of the late King, and sent to England to the King; their value amounted to upwards of 400,000 crowns.

[Italian.]

Feb. 1.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 289.**575. EMBASSY to ENGLAND.**

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages, and carried.—Commission to Sebastian Giustinian and Piero Pasqualigo, ambassadors to England and France.

To condole on the death of King Lewis with King Francis, and congratulate him on his accession. To condole with the Queen Dowager, and with the reigning Queen, and to congratulate the latter on her husband's accession.

With regard to the present of which they had charge for the Queen widow, are to do nothing further with it (*debanò tener cussi*); to inquire, however, what individual or individuals about his most Christian Majesty's person have power with him, and to give the State notice thereof.

Then to proceed to England, and congratulate King Henry on the peace with France and on the marriage, and then condole with him on the death of King Lewis.

Giustinian to remain in England, Pasqualigo to return to France. Their predecessors (Badoer and Dandolo) to come away.

[Italian.]





1515.

Feb. 1.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 92,  
tergo.

**576. The DOGE and SENATE to the Ambassadors SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN and PIETRO PASQUALIGO.**

To retain the presents in their possession until further orders, but on departing for England, the presents to be left in charge of Pasqualigo's predecessor until his return; to let no one know that they have any present with them. To mention in detail the names of such individuals as enjoy repute and credit with King Francis.

The two ambassadors on arriving in England to present themselves, together with Badoer, to the King, and thank him for including the Signory in the confederation made with the late King Lewis, and condole with him on the death of his brother-in-law.

At another audience to exhort the King to union with the King of France, and to confirm the peace made with the late King.

Are likewise to visit Queen Katharine, and condole with her on the death of her brother-in-law.

To visit all the influential personages notified by Badoer, and keep them well disposed towards the Signory. Then Giustinian to remain in England, and Pasqualigo to go back to France.

Ayes 167. Noes 3. Neutrals 0.

[*Italian, 85 lines.*]

Feb. 2.

Lettere del Col-  
legio (Secreta).  
File no. 3.

**577. The DOGE and COLLEGE to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.**

On the arrival of his successor, Sebastian Giustinian, and after the departure of Pietro Pasqualigo from England for France, he (Badoer), after taking leave of the King and Queen, is allowed to depart and go to St. James of Galizia [Compostella] to fulfil his vow, but at his own cost, and not at the expense of the Signory; and is then to return home.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 3.

Original  
Letter Book,  
St. Mark's  
Library.  
Letter no. 7.

**578. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Narrates his conversations with the Doge of Genoa, who did not expect Francis I. to come into Italy during the present year, as he would require time to arrange his affairs with England. On the other hand, reports of his coming were circulated—by the Emperor, by the Spaniards then in Italy, and by the Duke of Milan.

Genoa, 3rd February 1515.

[*Italian, 2½ pages.*]

Feb. 3.

Ib.  
Letter no. 8.

**579. The SAME to the SAME.**

Announces the refusal of the Genoese to subsidize six or seven thousand Switzers, at the rate of 7,000 ducats a month.

Genoa, 3rd February 1515.

[*Italian, ¾ page.*]

Feb. 6.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 291.

**580. ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England, to the STATE**

London, 6th January.

Receipt there of the news of the death of the King of France on the last day of December.

Wrote also about money for himself.

[*Italian.*]





1515.

Feb. 6.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix.  
p. 292, 293.

**581. KING HENRY VIII. to LEONARDO LOREDANO, Doge of Venice.**

Dated 17th December 1514.

Acknowledges receipt of the Signory's letter of congratulation on the peace and alliance with France. Expresses satisfaction at being thanked for including the Republic amongst the friendly powers specified by him in the treaty. Had been made aware of the Signory's loving disposition towards him, both by their numerous letters and by the ambassador Badoer. Praises Badoer's address and patriotism, and doubts not but that he will have acquainted the Doge with the King's friendly bias. Has also heard from Badoer of the appointment of his successor, which pleases him as a proof of the Signory's wish to maintain a friendly intercourse, but regrets the departure of Badoer, to whom he has grown accustomed, and delights much in his grave and sage conversation. Praises his ability in negotiating all the affairs of the Republic, and is of opinion that he has completely performed the functions of an able ambassador and an excellent patriot. Will nevertheless most willingly receive the new ambassador.

[*Latin. No date of place.*]

Feb. 7.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 294.

**582. LETTER from FRANCE.**

Dated 19th January.

The King was going to Rheims to be anointed, and would then be crowned at St. Denys.

The King had attended mass for the obsequies of the late King, attired in a purple mantle with a long train. He resembled the devil (*pareva el diavolo*). Twelve of his attendants were to enter his chamber, and none else except his lords (*soi signori*). He did not eat in public like King Lewis.

The Duke of Suffolk was expected there as ambassador from the King of England, to confirm the peace. Others said he was coming to escort the Queen to England.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 16.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xix. p. 304.

**583. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the STATE.**

Dated 17th to 27th January and 4th February.

The King was gone to Rheims to be anointed; would then proceed to St. Menchould to touch for the evil, and was to be crowned at St. Denys on the 13th. Was very popular. Is on the best possible terms with the Queen Dowager; visits her frequently. Had given her the revenues of the county of Blois, worth 20,000 francs annually, and she was to hold her court there; and an inventory of the plate, jewels, and tapestries of the late King had been made out and sent to England. Two ambassadors from the King of England had arrived, namely, the Duke of Suffolk, and a person styled "the Archdeacon."\* They had audience with the King at a place near Rheims. There they condoled with him on the death of the late King, congratulated him on his own accession, and proposed to take the Queen Dowager to the King,

\* Dr. Nicholas West, Dean of Windsor and Archdeacon of Derby;—soon after Bishop of Ely.







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her brother, who apparently means to marry her to an English duke, one of the chief personages in England; but the King (of France) did not choose her to depart, at least until after the expiration of a year, and had appointed as her guardian (*a posto al suo governo*) a certain Mons. de ———, who spoke French (*sic*), and she was expected to remain. The ambassadors wanted the King to withdraw his protection from Scotland, as King Henry purposed annexing that kingdom, and the French ministers had acquiesced; but King Francis refused his consent, not choosing to break the promise given by the late King Lewis to the King of Scotland, and to the Queen, who however was the King of England's sister. Mentions his own conversations with the King (Francis), whom he describes as very gracious, and also with Gian Giacomo Triulzi. With regard to the French descent into Italy for the present year, says there was no preparation, as the King chose first of all to arrange matters with England and the Switzers.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 22.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 99,  
tergo.

584. The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

Glad to hear that the King of England means to remain on good terms with his most Christian Majesty and the Archduke (Charles of Burgundy), and no longer adhere to the government and counsel of the Lady Margaret. Anxious to hear that the desired conclusion has been effected.

Ayes, 148. Noes, 54. Neutrals, 4.

[*Italian, 50 lines.*]

Feb. 27.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 10.

585. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN and PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Venetian Ambassadors on their way to England, to the SIGNORY.

Certain merchants at Lyons had received letters from London from Leonardo Frescobaldi, a merchant of great credit and very rich, dated the 12th and 15th Feb., and stating that the King of England would maintain a perfect understanding with the King of France, who was negotiating an interview with him through the Duke of Suffolk, resident at the French court. It was settled that the interview should take place at Calais. The King of England had despatched a messenger to Florence to purchase a great quantity of cloths of gold and of silk, that he might receive King Francis with honour.

Lyons, 27th Feb. 1515.

[*Italian, 1½ page, or 35 lines.*]

March 9.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 12.

586. The SAME to the SAME.

Had heard from the nephew of Theodore Triulzi that King Francis had signed a treaty of peace with the King of England, but that nothing was concluded with the Archduke of Burgundy. That the Queen widow of King Lewis was expected to marry the Duke of Suffolk, an alliance desirable for France, as it was better for her to wed in England than abroad.

Moulins, 9th March 1515.

[*Italian, 1½ page.*]







1515.

March 15.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 49.**587. VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE to the STATE.**

Dated 21st and 22nd February.

The jousts had taken place. Mons. d'Aubigni had been wounded with a spear, and likewise the Duke of Bourbon; the King had also received a blow.

The affairs of England appeared to be arranged, and the two Kings were to meet at Calais. An adjustment had also been made with the Archduke of Burgundy.

Details his conversations with the secretary Robertet, and other particulars; nothing would be said about the affairs of Italy until the completion of an adjustment with England, whither the Queen Dowager would perhaps return.

[Italian.]

March 21.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 14.**588. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN and PIETRO PASQUALIGO to the SIGNORY.**

Informed by the King's Master of the Horse of the signature of a treaty of peace between the King and the Archduke (Charles of Burgundy), which would prove advantageous for France, as thereby King Francis would be enabled to annihilate the King of Arragon; for the Archduke, by a mere letter, without stirring from Flanders, had it in his power to oust the King of Arragon from the government of Castile. Also, by means of this peace the King of England would be disabled from injuring France, although even with him a good arrangement would speedily be made.

Paris, 21st March 1515.

[Italian, 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  page, or 41 lines.]

March 23.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 15.**589. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, PIETRO PASQUALIGO, and MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.**

Message received by them from the King through the Bishop of Angoulême, deferring their audience until Sunday the 25th, on account of negotiations with the Flemish ambassadors, with whom, in the name of Archduke Charles, peace and alliance had been concluded by King Francis on that day, the 23rd March.

The Bishop of Angoulême said he knew nothing more of the adjustment, save that it was reported the Archduke would marry Madame Raynera (Rénée), the second daughter of the late King Lewis; adding that the treaty was no less advantageous for the Signory of Venice than for France, as King Francis, having nothing to apprehend from Flanders and England, would be more at liberty to attend to the affairs of Italy.

Paris, 23rd March 1515.

[Italian, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  page, or 38 lines.]

March 23.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. pp. 61, 62.**590. DANDOLO, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.**

Dated 25th February to 1st March.

The King had released Peter of Navarre, who was taken at the rout of Ravenna, and given to Mons. de Longueville, for whose







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ransom whilst a prisoner in England, 20,000 crowns were demanded. The King has paid the price [put on Peter of Navarre], meaning to take him into his service, and to make him captain of Lansquenets against the King of Spain.

The league with the King of England might be said to be concluded. King Francis had left Tournai to England, rather than renounce the protection of Scotland, and had sent a friar, the Bishop of ———, as ambassador to negotiate.

[*Italian.*]

March 23.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 61.

591. PIERO LANDO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the STATE.

Dated 16th to 20th March.

Negotiations were on foot for marrying the Queen Dowager of France, the sister of the King of England, to the Emperor, and the sister of the present Queen of France to the Archduke of Burgundy.

[*Italian.*]

March 25.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 16.

592. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, PIETRO PASQUALIGO, and MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

Account of their audience of King Francis on that day. The King intended to enter Italy in person. In order to render France secure, he had concluded peace with the Archduke, who, as his vassal for the county of Flanders, had tendered him homage, and as Duke of Brabant, Prince of Spain, &c., had bound himself to France by agreeing to take for wife Madame Rénée, the sister-in-law of King Francis and daughter of King Lewis. For dower he had given him the duchy of Berri and 100,000 crowns, with as many more as a gift, so that, in case of restitution of the dower, 100,000 crowns would be paid. The Archduke is at liberty within the next three years and a half to ratify the marriage, and should he not consent, the peace was to remain valid, either party giving eight frontier towns as security for its maintenance, and subjecting themselves to ecclesiastical censures.

King Francis said that the King of England, being without the aid of French Flanders, and suspicious of Scotland, could do but little against France, for if he were to invade France with a small force he would be beaten, and if with a large one he would spend much money in vain, as was the case last time, when, assisted by Flanders, he lost both money and time under Terouenne. That town King Francis said he was rebuilding stronger than before; and that he could now, through his friendship with Flanders, obtain Tournai, it being far inland, whenever he chose, though he was nevertheless, well disposed towards peace with the King of England, who seemed, however, to be raising an unfair difficulty by requiring France to withdraw her protection from Scotland, which he would never consent to do.

Inferred that the King would not come into Italy at present, because he wished to unite all his forces for the Italian expedition, and not to scatter them as King Lewis did; the King saying that







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when the King of England invaded France, no fewer than 4,000 spears and 24,000 infantry were maintained for the defence of her frontiers.

Told the King they were commissioned to endeavour to keep the King of England on good terms with him. He said that was very agreeable to him, adding, "I am certain you will do more for me than for that King."

Paris, 25th March 1515.

[*Italian, 4 pages, or 108 lines.*]

March 26.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 17.

593. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, PIETRO PASQUALIGO, and MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassadors in France, to the SIGNORY.

On the afternoon of that day had visited the Queen, and on the following morning were to have audience of the King's mother. Would subsequently endeavour with all speed to pay a similar compliment to the English Queen widow.

Mention of a visit received by Pietro Pasqualigo from Hieronimo Triulzi, who told him the English Queen (Mary Tudor) knew he was bringing her a beautiful present from the Signory, and that she would therefore give the ambassadors very good greeting. Triulzi said the fact transpired through letters from his brother, the French ambassador in Venice. Pasqualigo replied that he had no present whatever with him, and knew nothing about the matter, turning the conversation.

Paris, 26th March 1515.

[*Italian, 1 page, or 22 lines.*]

March 29.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 68.

594. ANDREA BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in England, to the STATE.

London, 6th March.

Details his conversations with the King. His Majesty remarked that "this King of France was indeed a worthy and honest sovereign, but nevertheless a Frenchman, and not to be trusted; that it would have been better for the Signory to have accepted the offers made by the Pope, and that he was writing in this sense to the State."

The King was negotiating the marriage of his sister, the Queen widow of France, to the Archduke of Burgundy, the sole obstacle being her actual sojourn in France, and it only remained to get her over to England.

Another Spanish ambassador, a Dominican bishop (the Bishop of Helna), had arrived in England to replace the former one, who was not very popular at the Court, and this Dominican was contriving a league between the Emperor, Spain, and the Archduke.

The King of Denmark would aid Scotland.

The King had told him (Badoer) that he had heard of the league made against Venice, and was sorry for it, and had written to the Pope on the subject in good form, and would send duplicates of the letters.

The King inquired of him (Badoer) who his successor was to be, and his name, and whether he knew the English tongue.







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Answered becomingly, and the King expressed regret for his departure.

[*Italian.*]

March 30.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 18.

595. GIUSTINIAN, PASQUALIGO, and DANDOLO to the SIGNORY.

When visiting Madame de Bourbon\* were told by her that peace would be made with England, though its hindrance could not injure France, first, because the peace made with the late King was to last one year after his death; secondly, because, should the King of England attack France, he must commence his preparations two years beforehand; and thirdly, because the King of England could not obtain provisions, owing to the recent treaty with the Archduke, and would therefore more easily agree to fair terms. She said an agreement was being negotiated with the Swiss at the present diet.

The Grand Constable was eager for the Milanese expedition. The King had despatched Friar Bernardin and Prejean to Marseilles, where he had ordered 12 galleys to be fitted out, besides the other 12 galleys already there. The Lord Steward, Mons. de Boissi, assured them that France would maintain inviolate her alliance with Venice. Mons. de Vendôme told them that, owing to the death of King Lewis, all treaties were at an end, and praised the agreement with Flanders, saying that a similar one would be made with England, according to a promise made by the Duke of Suffolk, who was still in France. He also said that the Provost of Louvain was come as an ambassador from the King of the Romans to prevent the agreement with Flanders, but, not succeeding, had proposed an alliance between the Emperor and France.

Had visited the ambassadors from England, and the English Queen widow. The ambassadors assured them that the agreement between their King and France would take place; and that in a few days the Queen widow, having arranged her French affairs, would return to England with the consent of King Francis, who had already made over to her for her jointure property in France, yielding an annual sum of 80,000 francs.

On the 29th March had another private audience of the King, who said he was endeavouring to remove all obstacles to the Italian expedition, and that he had already made an agreement with Flanders, and hoped in like manner to effect an adjustment with England, for the furtherance of which he wished the Venetian ambassadors to go thither speedily.

Paris, 30th March 1515.

[*Italian, 5¼ pages, or 145 lines.*]

March 30.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 19.

596. The SAME to the SAME.

The French secretary, Robertet, said that, on the conclusion of the peace with England, and after Easter, the King would go to Blois, where he could more conveniently make arrangements for the Italian expedition; and that although King Francis entertained no

\* Anne, daughter of Lewis XI., and widow of the Duke of Bourbon.



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Answered accordingly, and the King expressed regret for his departure.  
[Italian.]

March 30.  
Original Letter  
Book St. Mark's  
Library.  
Letter no. 15.  
552. GUSTINIAN, PASQUALINO, and DANDINO to the SIGNORY.  
When visiting Madame de Bourbon\* were told by her that peace would be made with England, though its hindrance could not injure France; first, because the peace made with the late King was to last one year after his death; secondly, because should the King of England attack France, he must commence his preparations two years beforehand; and thirdly, because the King of England could not obtain provisions owing to the recent treaty with the Archbishop, and would therefore more easily agree to this term. She said an agreement was being negotiated with the Swiss at the present time.

The Grand Constable was eager for the Milanese expedition. The King had despatched Friar Bettradin and Friar de Mareschias, where he had ordered 12 galleys to be fitted out, besides the other 12 galleys already there. The Lord Steward, Jean de Boissel, assured them that France would maintain inviolate her alliance with Venice. Jean de Vendôme told them that owing to the death of King Lewis, all treaties were at an end, and praised the agreement with Flanders, saying that a similar one would be made with England, according to a promise made by the Duke of Burgundy, who was still in France. He also said that the Provost of Louvain was come as an ambassador from the King of the Romans to prevent the agreement with Flanders, but not succeeding, had proposed an alliance between the Emperor and France.

Had visited the ambassadors from England, and the English Queen widow. The ambassadors assured them that the agreement between their King and France would take place; and that in a few days the Queen widow, having arranged her French affairs, would return to England with the consent of King Francis, who had already made over to her for her jointure property in France, yielding an annual sum of 80,000 francs.

On the 30th March had another private audience of the King, who said he was endeavouring to remove all obstacles to the Italian expedition, and that he had already made an agreement with Flanders, and hoped in like manner to effect an adjustment with England, for the furtherance of which he wished the Venetian ambassadors to go thither speedily.

Paris, 30th March 1515.

[Italian, 21 pages or 142 lines.]

March 30.  
Original Letter  
Book St. Mark's  
Library.  
Letter no. 15.  
553. The Duke to the Signory.  
The French secretary, Robertet, said that on the conclusion of the peace with England, and after Easter, the King would go to Blois, where he could more conveniently make arrangements for the Italian expedition; and that although King Francis entertained no

\* A son daughter of Lewis XI, and widow of the Duke of Bourbon.



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doubt of his alliance with the Signory of Venice, yet Pasqualigo would do well to obtain from the State a mandate and power, in virtue of which, on his return from England, he might either ratify the league made with the late King Lewis, or conclude a fresh treaty with King Francis.

Paris, 30th March 1515.

[*Italian, 1½ page, or 38 lines.*]

April 2.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 83.

597. PIERO LANDO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the STATE.

Dated 29th March.

The Duke of Suffolk, the English ambassador in France, would marry the Queen Dowager. He is the first man in England about the King.

[*Italian.*]

April 5.  
Patti Sciolti.

598. TREATY between ENGLAND and FRANCE.

Clause in the treaty of peace stipulated in London on the 5th April 1515, between England and France, and transmitted to Doge Leonardo Loredano by Henry VIII. in a letter dated Greenwich, 24th June 1515.

Friends and confederates nominated on behalf of Henry VIII.:— Pope Leo X.; the Holy Empire and Charles Prince of Castile, Archduke of Austria; Archduchess Margaret; King of Denmark; Dukes of Cleves and Juliers, and of the Venetians; the Signories of the Venetians and Florentines; the community and society of the German Hause [Towns]; Anthony Lord of Ligne, and the Switzers.

[*Latin, 20 lines, paper.*]

April 7.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 20.

599. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN and PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Ambassadors on their way to England, to the SIGNORY.

Quitted Paris on the 30th March, and arrived on the 4th of April at Boulogne. Detained by contrary winds. Would go across from that place.

Mons. de la Fayette, the governor of Boulogne, a man of prudence and authority, gave them intelligence that the peace between the Kings of England and France was to be sworn to by King Henry and the French ambassadors at Richmond, on Easter Monday (April 9). Mons. de la Fayette showed them the identical letters of Mons. de la Guiche, one of the ambassadors of King Francis, to this effect.

Boulogne, 7th April 1515.

[*Italian, 1 page, or 23 lines.*]

April 9.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. pp. 98, 99.

600. MARCO ANTONIO CONTARINI to MAFIO LIOM.

Paris, 29th March 1515.

Audience given to the Venetian ambassadors by the King. He is inexpressibly handsome and generous. In two months he had distributed 300,000 crowns of the sun and 60,000 crowns of annual revenue.\* There were five great men well nigh more powerful than

\* "E donato intrata a particolari per scudi 60m."







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the King, who are opposed to the Italian expedition and prefer a life of luxury.

The King's mode of life was as follows:—He rose at 11, heard mass, dined, then remained for two or three hours with his mother, and afterwards visited his sweethearts (*va a morose*) or went out hunting, then during the whole night visited here and there; so that by day it was impossible to obtain audience of him. The consultations held in Paris related principally to the diminution of expenditure.

In the University of Paris there were three individuals reputed learned—Jacomio Fabri, Carlo Bovilio, and Fausto Anderlini. This university does not appear to be very distinguished. Saw two "licentiates" receive their degrees. Would visit Oxford in England, and also Lovain in Flanders, and do his utmost to obtain some work by Cicero unknown in Italy.

Paris is more muddy than any other town; in fact, it stinks of mud; abounds in horses—10,000 are seen daily; there is much silk, and the whole court dresses in silk; even the pages trail it on the ground. The weather had been bad and rainy. On the 29th the ambassadors had another private audience of the King, and Robertet gave them letters from Venice.

The Queen widow is a very handsome woman, dressed all in black, with a white kerchief on her head and under her chin, like a nun; is never still, moves her head (*non sta mai ferma move la testa*); is the most attractive and beautiful woman ever seen. Had also seen the handsomest faces in the world at Moulins.

The Queen widow, at the very hour when her husband died, saluted Mons. d'Angoulême as King, knowing herself not to be pregnant.

Wrote also about the comedies performed there, &c.

[*Italian.*]

April 10.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 108,  
tergo.

601. The DOGE AND SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.

To allege to the King the impossibility of any attack being made on him this year by the King of England. To commend his Majesty's sage resolve to make an agreement with the King of England, who, on seeing that such has been effected with the Archduke, will condescend to what is fitting.

Ayes, 189. Noes, 5. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 67 lines.]

April 12.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 21.

602. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN and PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the SIGNORY.

Quitted Boulogne on the 10th, and reached Dover on the 11th, having been 24 hours at sea owing to the foul weather, from which they suffered greatly. Early on that day (the 12th) arrived at Canterbury. Heard from the French ambassadors, whom they met at Canterbury on their return to France, that the peace had been proclaimed on the 10th inst., and that both parties had named the Signory as their confederate. By a special clause, the King of England is bound to furnish 10,000 archers, whenever the most Christian King,







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either for the defence of his kingdom, or for the recovery of territories belonging to him, should so require, at the expense of France. The King of Spain was not mentioned by either of the parties, the King of England bearing him extreme hatred. Scotland was included in the peace, on condition that, should the Scots invade England, or commit any hostile act with a force exceeding 300 horse, and with the consent of the ruler for the time being in Scotland, the aggressors were to be held common enemies, and not comprised in this peace; but should the incursion take place without the consent of the aforesaid ruler, compensation and restitution were to be made. Tournai was left to the King of England. Another clause had been added, to the effect that all Venetian, Florentine, and Genoese galleys, ships, and other vessels may freely trade in France and England.

Canterbury, 12th April 1515.

[*Italian*, 1½ page, or 41 lines.]

April 14.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 109.

603. MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Paris, 16th [March].

From what he saw, the agreement and marriage with the Archduke of Burgundy would take place; the English Queen would also marry the Duke of Suffolk, who was ambassador there at Paris.

[*Italian*.]

April 20.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 119.

604. WINES of CANDIA.

Motion made in the Senate by the five proveditors for merchandise, for a letter to the King of England, exhorting him to take off the duty of two crowns a butt which he imposed on the wines of Candia, when the Signory exacted four ducats for each butt exported thence to England, and stating that this duty was repealed for his Majesty's gratification, in the belief that he would do the like, and make no further innovation, so that the Venetians might trade in England; but as he did nothing, many refuse to make the voyage to England. On this account request his Majesty to cancel it.

Ayes, 161. Noes, 1.

Note by Sanuto, that the King would do nothing, as he found the duty lucrative, and when written to on a former occasion, declined repealing it.

[*Italian*.]

April 20.

Senato Mar,  
v. xviii. p. 63.

605. DECREE of the SENATE.

Motion made for a letter to be written to the ambassadors, purporting that, amongst the other burdens with which merchandise was weighted in England, the most grievous was that of two crowns payable on each butt of wine. In order that they may effect the repeal of this duty, inform them that some years ago, the vessels of Venice being attacked and captured by certain pirates, and especially by natives of Biscay, who went to load wines in Candia, the Signory subjected each butt of wine loaded in foreign bottoms to an export duty of four ducats. That King Henry VII., per-







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ceiving this measure to be injurious to his ships, as well as to those of Biscay, put on a duty of two crowns on each butt imported into England. That the Venetian ambassador informed the King, that should he repeal that duty the Signory would do the like with regard to the four ducats. On the return of the ambassador the Signory understood from him that the King assented to this proposal, but although the export duty in Candia was repealed, the import duty in England remained in force.

The ambassadors are desired, therefore, on their arrival in England, to obtain information on the subject from the consul and merchants, and also from the ambassador Badoer, together with whom they are to urge the King to repeal the duty, stating what the Signory had done in Candia, for the sake of obtaining reciprocity in England.

Ayes, 16.

April 21.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library.  
Letter no. 22.

**606.** SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN and PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the SIGNORY.

Proceeded from Canterbury to Rochester, where they found the Venetian consul, Hieronimo da Molin, and other Venetians, with whom they went to Deptford. On the 18th were escorted thence in the King's name by a "doctor of the Parliament" and a knight, with 50 horsemen all in one livery, who rode with the ambassadors to their dwelling in London. Were met on the way by the rest of the Venetians and by the ambassador Badoer and others, so that on entering London they numbered upwards of 200 horse.

The King was at Richmond, where he meant to celebrate the festival of St. George, the patron of his Order of the Garter, and intended to give the ambassadors audience there, and on that very day, as a mark of greater honour towards the Signory.

On the preceding day (20th April), the peace with France had been formally proclaimed. News expected hourly of the departure from Paris for England of the Queen Dowager Mary, who they understood was married to the Duke of Suffolk.

Presented the letters of recall to the ambassador Badoer, who was unable to depart without the advance of a considerable sum of money; for Giustinian had not received the bill for 1,000 ducats mentioned in his commission.

London, 21st April 1515.

[*Italian*, 1½ page, or 39 lines.]

. April 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 122.

**607.** ADVICES from FRANCE, dated the 4th April, stated that the Queen widow of France, sister of the King of England, had married the Duke of Suffolk, his ambassador there at Paris, and that the marriage had been consummated.

The King of England had declared war against Scotland, and invaded the country, doing great damage.

[*Italian*.]

April 24.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 130.

**608.** DANDOLO, Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Dated 10th April.

News had arrived of the conclusion of the agreement with England. Scotland was included, and Spain excluded.







1515.

The Queen widow was married to the Duke of Suffolk, ambassador in France, with the consent of the King of England, and she was about to set out for England with her husband.

[*Italian.*]

April 26.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
[Letter no. 23.]

**609.** ANDREA BADOER, SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, and PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the SIGNORY.

On St. George's day (23rd April), were conducted to audience of the King, at Richmond, by a prelate and a knight. Went by water to Richmond, where they found the whole court assembled in a stately hall. The King was standing near a gilt chair, surrounded by many royal insignia, under a canopy with a gold ground and raised pile. He was arrayed in the robes of the Garter, as were also eight other knights. Latin oration delivered by Giustinian. Congratulations on the well-being of the King. Condolence on the death of his brother-in-law King Lewis. Thanked him for having included the Signory in the peace made with that King, and expressed joy at the new confederation formed with King Francis. Concluded with a panegyric on King Henry. Answer given by "a doctor of the Parliament," who replied graciously to every clause in the oration; after which the King went to hear high mass with the ambassadors; and then to dinner, accompanied by the ambassadors and all the prelates and lords. The King chose the ambassadors to dine with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Durham; and after dinner they remained a long while in very familiar conversation with his Majesty, who at length said he would send for them another day to hear what announcements they had to make from the Signory, being unable to do so at the moment, as he was occupied.

London, 26th April 1515.

[*Italian, 2½ pages, or 55 lines.*]

April 26.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 132.

**610.** MOTION made in the SENATE by the Sages, for a letter to the ambassadors in England, desiring them to congratulate the King on having renewed the friendship and agreement with France, in which they feel certain that his Majesty will have included the Signory.

[*Italian.*]

April 26.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 109,  
tergo.

**611.** The DOGE and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND. To congratulate the King on the auspicious agreement with his most Christian Majesty.

Ayes, 171. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 14 lines.*]

April 30.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 141.

**612.** MARCO DANDOLO, Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Paris, 21st April. In cipher.

Announces the departure of the Queen widow, who had married the Duke of Suffolk, the marriage having been consummated there



1515

The Queen widow was married to the Duke of Suffolk, and  
sister in France, with the consent of the King of England, and  
was about to set out for England with her husband.

[Italian.]

608. ANDREA BADOER, SEBASTIAN GUSTINIAN, and  
PASQUALE, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to  
SIGNORY.

On St. George's day (23rd April), were conducted to audience  
the King at Richmond by a prelate and a knight. Went by way  
to Richmond, where they found the whole court assembled  
in a stately hall. The King was standing near a gilt chair, surrounded  
by many royal insignia, under a canopy with a gold ground  
raised pile. He was arrayed in the robes of the Garter, as  
also eight other knights. Latin oration delivered by Gustinian  
on the well-being of the King. Congratulations on the death  
of his brother-in-law King Lewis. Thanked him for his  
included the Signory in the peace made with that King, and  
pressed joy at the new confederation formed with King France.  
Concluded with a panegyric on King Henry. Answer given  
"a doctor of the Parliament," who replied graciously to every  
in the oration; after which the King went to hear high mass  
the ambassadors; and then to dinner, accompanied by the  
nobles and all the prelates and lords. The King chose the  
passados to dine with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop  
Durham; and after dinner they remained a long while in  
familiar conversation with his Majesty, who at length said he  
saw for them another day to hear what announcements they  
to make from the Signory, being unable to do so at the moment  
he was occupied.

London, 25th April 1515.

[Italian, 21 pages, or 55 lines.]

610. MORTON made in the SENATE by the Sages for a  
to the ambassadors in England, desiring them to congratulate  
King on having renewed the friendship and agreement with France,  
in which they feel certain that his Majesty will have included  
SIGNORY.

[Italian.]

611. The Pope and SENATE to the AMBASSADOR in France.  
To congratulate the King on the auspicious agreement with  
most Christian Majesty.  
Ayes, 171. Noes, 2. Neutral, 0.

[Italian, 14 lines.]

612. MARCO D'ARAGON, Ambassador in France, to  
STATE.  
Paris, 21st April. In cipher.  
Announces the departure of the Queen widow, who had married  
the Duke of Suffolk, the marriage having been consummated in

April 25.  
Original Latin.  
Book, 40. Mark's  
Library.  
[Italian, no. 25.]

April 25.  
Senato Discreto.  
v. xl. p. 122.

April 25.  
Deliberated.  
Senato Discreto.  
v. xlv. p. 102.  
largo.

April 30.  
Senato Discreto.  
v. xl. p. 121.



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immediately, because she was a widow, and they were going to England. The marriage took place by consent of the King (Francis), who was well pleased that Suffolk should have her rather than the Archduke; and he accompanied her beyond the town, as far as St. Denys, paying her very great honours, and making her presents. He (the ambassador) had said a few words to her in the Signory's name, and the King (Francis) had sent ambassadors to escort her.

On the ——— the King was to depart with his wife and mother for Blois. Was sending to Lyons to proclaim the agreement made with England.

[*Italian.*]

April 30.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx.  
pp. 143, 144.

**613.** LETTERS from LONDON, written by ——— to ———.

Dated 25th March and 1st April.

Several days before the commencement of the Carnival, the Parliament assembled; and, according to report, the King meant to take the field against Scotland, as the Scots apparently had certain ships at sea. and were capturing all the English vessels they could find; so the King meant to execute reprisals; nor could the Scotch resist, by reason of his vast amount of treasure and troops.

On the 2nd of March the courier Zuam Averzo arrived in London, having accompanied the ambassador Piero Pasqualigo as far as Lyons, where he left him, that he might await his baggage carts; the courier proceeding to Paris with Hironimo da Molin, and one of the Pisanis of the bank, together with a natural son of Nicolo Duodo, the merchant of London; these two last being very young.

The new King (of France) was 26 years old, handsome, rather spare than stout. At Paris there were jousts and banquets daily, and nothing was said about sending troops towards Italy; rejoicings and entertainments being the order of the day.

The ambassador Pasqualigo and his colleague, Giustinian, who was coming as ambassador to the King of England, were expected in London for Easter. The ambassador Badoer meant to go to St. James of Galizia (Compostella). The two ambassadors sent by King Henry to France went for the purpose of bringing back his sister. The King had lately sent two ambassadors to the Pope, one of whom was my Lord of St. John's (Sir Thomas Docwra, Grand Prior of St. John's). A French ambassador had recently arrived in London, for the purpose it was said of confirming the peace.

In the second letter, dated 1st April, announced the arrival in London on the 18th March of an ambassador from the Marquis (*sic*)\* of Ferrara, by name Hironimo de Strozi; and in the said Duke's (*sic*) name he presented the King with a horse, said to be very handsome, and a live leopard. According to report, the King was much pleased with this present.†

[*Italian.*]

\* Borso of Este had been made *Duke* of Ferrara by Pope Paul II. on the 14th April 1471. (See Frizzi, vol iv. pp. 66, 67.)

† According to Frizzi (vol. iv. p. 260), these presents were delivered by Girolamo Sestola. The horse had gold trappings, and, besides the leopard, there were three trained falcons.







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May 3.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 24.

614. ANDREA BADOER, SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, and PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the SIGNORY.

Had paid daily visits to various spiritual and temporal lords, whom they sought to interest for the support of Venice, expatiating on the Signory's good will towards King Henry, who, on the 1st of May sent a prelate and a knight to conduct the ambassadors to him at Greenwich. On arriving there, accompanied the Queen on horseback into the country, where they met the King, who had preceded them. The diversions of the morning being ended, the King withdrew, and gave the ambassadors a private audience, at which Pasqualigo told him that the Signory, having heard from Badoer of the treaty made with the late King Lewis, rejoiced thereat extremely, and had appointed them to come as ambassadors, to congratulate him on the marriage and adjustment, to thank him for having included the Signory in the treaty, and to ratify and confirm the act by word of mouth and by letters patent, which Pasqualigo then presented. That although King Lewis had died since their departure [from Venice], yet the State had empowered them to proceed on their journey, condole with King Henry on that event, and respectfully exhort him to persevere in the alliance with King Francis. That on arriving in England, they understood the peace had been concluded, and the Signory again comprised in it, for which, in the name of the State, Pasqualigo thanked the King, requesting him, as he was so united with France, to use his authority, and, with the aid of King Francis, assist the State to recover her territory, and live in quiet.

The King answered by the Archbishop of York, returning ample thanks for so complimentary an embassy. Said he would send letters announcing the inclusion of the Signory in the new treaty, so that every one might understand how great was the union between the three states of England, France, and the Venetians.

Pasqualigo then announced his own departure for France, and Giustinian's appointment as ambassador in ordinary in England. The King gave Pasqualigo his dismissal, and went to dinner, desiring the ambassadors to dine with the Lords of the Council.

Joust performed on the same day after dinner. The King tilted against many, stoutly and valorously. According to their own observation and the report of others, King Henry was not only very expert in arms and of great valour, and most eminent for his personal endowments, but so gifted and adorned with mental accomplishments, that they believed him to have few equals in the world. He spoke English, French, and Latin, understood Italian well, played on almost every instrument, sang and composed fairly, was prudent, sage, and free from every vice, and so good and affectionate a friend to the Signory, that no ultramontane sovereign ever surpassed him in that respect.

Visited the Queen, when Pasqualigo, knowing it would please her, addressed her in Spanish, keeping to general topics, and making offers of service. The Queen answered also in Spanish, and then entered into a long familiar conversation about the affairs of Spain.







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Pasqualigo would return to the French court with all speed; Giustinian remained in England; and Badoer would await pecuniary supply for the payment of his debts, and then return home forthwith.

London, 3rd May 1515.

[*Italian*, 4½ pages, or 102 lines.]

May 4.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 161.

**615. MARCO DANDOLO**, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the STATE.

Paris, 14th and 17th April.

For the present year the King could not come into Italy. He was intent on attacking the Switzers, and would raise 10,000 lansquenets. For this year he had not money wherewith to undertake the Italian expedition, as the English Queen, who departed on marrying the Duke of Suffolk, took with her a considerable sum, the amount of her dower given to the late King.

[*Italian*.]

May 5.  
Original  
Letter Book,  
St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 24

**616. ANDREA BADOER** and **SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN** to the SIGNORY.

In their accompanying letter of the 3rd, announced their intention of transmitting the missive from the King which notified his mention of the State in the treaty with France; but had been unable to do so, because the Queen widow of France having returned to England, the King and all the ministers went to meet her at Dover. The ambassadors were therefore unable to obtain either the letter or the clauses of the league relating to Venice; but on the return of the King, would endeavour to procure and despatch them.

Record the departure on the 4th of Pietro Pasqualigo, who had so distinguished himself, during his few days' sojourn in England, as to leave a great name there.

London, 5th May 1515.

[*Italian*, 1½ page.]

May 14.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 189.

**617. ANDREA BADOER** to the STATE.

Concerning his pecuniary embarrassments, and other English affairs.

[*Italian*.]

May 15.  
Original  
Letter Book,  
St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 25.

**618. ANDREA BADOER** and **SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN** to the SIGNORY.

Warn the State to expect very little news from England, the kingdom being ill informed. Had requested the English ministers to give them information relative to the future movements of the King of France, but they answered that they had no certain intelligence.

On the 13th instant the espousals (*le sponsalitie*) of Queen Mary to the Duke of Suffolk at length took place; there were no public demonstrations, because the kingdom did not approve of the marriage. Wishing to ascertain whether this marriage had been concluded with the King's consent, were assured by great





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personages that it had first been arranged between the bride and bridegroom, after which they asked the consent of King Henry, who, however, had maintained his former friendship for the Duke, which would appear incredible, but is affirmed by the nobility at the Court. Have, therefore, abstained from paying any compliments either to the King or to the bride and bridegroom, but have determined to visit his Majesty in a day or two, and congratulate him on his sister's arrival. Should they understand that the great personages of the Court intend to make public mention of the event, and that it was celebrated, they would then offer congratulations in the Signory's name on the marriage, but not seeing it solemnized as becoming, would keep silence, to avoid giving offence.

All the ministers are as well disposed as possible towards the Signory. The popularity of Badoer had caused this result. Request of Badoer for pecuniary supply.

London, 15th May 1515.

[*Italian, 2½ pages.*]

May 15.  
Original  
Letter Book,  
St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 26.

619. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to DAN-  
DOLO and PASQUALIGO, Ambassadors in France.

Had on that day visited some of the English ministers, including the Archbishop of York, who asked them if they had any news. Answered in the negative, and that he, being always with the King, and having the entire management of affairs in England, must be acquainted with all events. The Archbishop replied that, according to report, the most Christian King meant to attack the Switzers, who seemed to be threatening France; and that, if successful, he would then proceed into Italy, though no letters to that effect had been received either from King Francis or from the English ambassador, the Archbishop apparently complaining somewhat that King Francis held King Henry in small account, and saying that this was not the way to maintain their friendship. He added, that before the war the late King Lewis neither did nor even devised anything without first of all giving notice to the King of England; whereas at present the English government received no advices from France, as if there were neither peace nor any confederacy between the two crowns, although King Francis ought to know that, if England chose, she could thwart his projects.

Made a suitable rejoinder, proving that such was not the intention of King Francis, as well known to Giustinian, who said that he had heard his most Christian Majesty express a very high opinion of King Henry, for whom he evinced great affection. Giustinian added, that perhaps no determination had yet been so matured as to enable King Francis to announce it for certain, or that the silence might proceed from some of his councillors, who, being new in the government, did not consider the importance of this taciturnity.

This matter appearing of importance they would announce it to their colleagues [in France].

London, 15th May 1515.

[*Italian, 1¼ page.*]







1515.

May 21.

Misti  
Consiglio X.,  
v. xxxviii. p. 77.

**620. DEBTS of ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.**

Decree of the Council of Ten and Junta, assigning to the banker Almorò Pisani the oil duties\* for the months of May and June next, until full payment of 1,000 ducats to be disbursed on his account in London to the ambassador Andrea Badoer, who was to draw for them on Venice, that he may not be sued (*sequestrato*) in England, to the detriment and reproach of the Signory.

Ayes, 24. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian, 6 lines.*]

May 24.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 205.

**621. ANDREA BADOER to the STATE.**

London, 28th April.

On the 23rd (St. George's day) his two colleagues, Pasqualigo and Giustinian, had audience of the King.

Complains much of not having received the money needed for his departure from England, where he owed upwards of 1,600 ducats. In fulfilment of a vow it behoved him to visit the shrine of St. James in Galizia, and so must be provided with the aforesaid sum, as otherwise he could not depart.

Note by Sanuto, that the College sent bills of exchange to Badoer for 1,000 ducats, and that there were no letters from the ambassadors Giustinian and Pasqualigo.

[*Italian.*]

May 27.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 211.

**622. FERRARESE AMBASSADOR in the COLLEGE.**

Exhibited letters from his Duke Don Alfonso, announcing the return of the envoy sent by him to England with a horse and a live [leopard]. The envoy was much favoured by the King, who reciprocated the presents. On his return the envoy found, at Lyons, Gian Giacomo Triulzi, who told him he should soon come with the army to take the duchy of Milan.

[*Italian.*]

May 29.

Original  
Letter Book,  
St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 27.

**623. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassadors in England, to the SIGNORY.**

In date of the 15th, announced their intention of visiting the King to congratulate him on the marriage of his sister. Had audience on the 28th, but for reason good (*per bon rispetto*) omitted the office of congratulation, and merely gave him news of the Turk, as received by them from Venice. The King and the ministers were much pleased to hear that the affairs of Sultan Selim were in a bad way, and thanked them much for the information. Nothing was more agreeable to the English ministry than to give them the news of the world, and especially Turkish news, as they were ill informed of the events of Italy and of other places, and while they appreciated the advices given them, they resented the withholding of such advices by those from whom they considered the same due.

Some of the ministers complained that his most Christian Majesty had adopted a system unbecoming an ally, and that he had never

\* Ternaria dall' oglio.







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made the slightest communication to King Henry relative to the Italian expedition which he was about to undertake; thus showing that he either held the King of England in small account, or bore him but little love. The late King Lewis before the last war had acted very differently, as he communicated whatever he did, or meditated doing, to King Henry, having done the like to his father. Apologized for the error, and attributed it to certain new counsellors in the service of King Francis. Giustinian assured the English ministers that when in France he understood from the King's language that he greatly loved and esteemed King Henry.

Considering these particulars momentous, had communicated the same forthwith to their colleagues in France, Giustinian being of opinion that a mere hint to Mons. de Boissi, or to Robertet, who were well disposed, would suffice.

Recommend the State, moreover, to apply to itself the complaints made against others, for as the English ministry resented the silence of King Francis, with regard to the events of France, so would they take offence if the State failed to give them Italian news.

Demand made by Badoer for pecuniary supply.

London, 29th May 1515.

[*Italian, 24 pages, or 54 lines.*]

June 6.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. pp. 243-  
247.

624. NICOLO SAGUDINO, secretary of Sebastian Giustinian, Ambassador in England, to ALVISE FOSCARI.

Left Paris on the 30th March, and arrived, 4th April, at Boulogne, where they embarked on Easter Tuesday, expecting to cross in six hours, but they remained at sea 23 hours, owing to its roughness. On Wednesday arrived at Dover, much exhausted, and on the Wednesday following entered London. At a distance of 12 miles thence were met by a knight and doctor of laws, who had been sent by the King to the ambassadors, and came with 50 horse. Were afterwards joined by the merchants and other Venetians, and by the ambassador Andrea Badoer, so that on entering London they numbered more than 200 horse, by all of whom they were accompanied to their dwelling. On their arrival they received the Signory's letters of the 18th March.

The ambassadors immediately sought audience of the King, which was appointed for St. George's day, when the same two lords who met them on their arrival came to them with a numerous retinue, and escorted the three ambassadors in a large barge, followed by many others containing the merchants and the rest of the Venetians, to a palace on the Thames called Richmond. Landed with about 200 persons. On entering the palace, a collation, consisting only of bread and wine, was served to them, according to custom; which ended, they passed through some other chambers, where they saw part of the King's guard, consisting of 300 men, all very handsome and in excellent array;— never saw finer fellows.

At length they entered a room where the King was leaning against a chair covered with cloth of gold brocade, with a cushion of the same material and a large gilt sword, under a canopy of cloth of gold with a raised pile. The King was dressed as a Knight of







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the Garter, of which order he is the superior, and wore a very costly doublet, over which was a mantle of violet velvet, with a very long train lined with white satin. On his head was a richly jewelled cap of crimson velvet of immense value, and round his neck he wore a collar studded with many precious stones, of which he (Sagudino) never saw the like.

Immediately on perceiving the ambassadors the King approached them, and after allowing his hand to be kissed, embraced them with the greatest possible demonstration of good will to the Signory. Then silence was proclaimed, and Giustinian pronounced an elegant Latin oration, which was listened to with attention by all, especially by the King, who understands Latin very well. This address lasted a full hour, and the King caused a reply to be made by a doctor of laws, thanking the Signory, and asserting that the King had ever been the State's friend and protector. This ceremony ended, the King invited the ambassadors and all their retinue to hear mass and dine with him; so they went to church, and after a grand procession had been made, high mass was sung by the King's choristers, whose voices are more divine than human; and as to the counterbass voices, they probably have not their equals in the world. The Queen was present.

After mass the King and the nobles with the ambassadors and their followers returned to the palace, into a hall, where a table had been prepared for his Majesty, and another for the knights of the Garter, the ambassadors and the merchants. After witnessing a display of gold plate of immense value, they sat down to table and dined. After dinner the King sent for the ambassadors, and addressed them partly in French and partly in Latin, and also in Italian, showing himself very affable. Then they took leave and departed.

The personal beauty of the King is very great, as Foscari doubtless has been informed by his brother, the Lord Frederick. He is also courageous, an excellent musician, plays well on the harpsichord, is learned for his age and station, and has many other endowments and good parts. Two such courts and two such Kings as those of France and England have not been witnessed by any Venetian ambassador for these 50 years, as is attested by the Magnifico Pietro Pasqualigo, who extols everything *usque ad astra*.

On the 1st of May the King sent two English lords to the ambassadors, who were taken by them to Greenwich, where the King was, for the purpose of celebrating May day. On the ambassadors arriving there, they mounted on horseback, with many of the chief nobles of the kingdom, and accompanied the Queen into the country, to meet the King. She was very richly attired, and had with her 25 damsels mounted on white palfreys, with housings all of one fashion, most beautifully embroidered with gold; and all these damsels wore dresses slashed with gold lama in very costly trim, and were attended by a number of footmen in excellent order. With this retinue the Queen proceeded to a wood two miles from Greenwich, in which they found the King and his guard, all clad in a livery of green, with bows in their hands, and about a hundred noblemen on horseback all gorgeously arrayed. In this wood were bowers filled







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purposely with singing birds, which caroled most sweetly, and in one of these bastions or bowers were some triumphal cars, on which were singers and musicians, who played on an organ, lute and flutes for a good while, during a banquet which was served in this place. On the journey homewards some tall pasteboard giants, placed on cars and surrounded by the King's guard, were conducted in the greatest order to Greenwich, the musicians singing the whole way, and playing trumpets and other instruments. It was an extremely fine triumph and very pompous, and the King brought up the rear in great state, being followed by the Queen, and by such a crowd on foot as probably exceeded 25,000 people.

On arriving at Greenwich the King went to mass, after which the ambassadors had private audience. Then the King went to dinner. They dined in his palace with the chief nobility. After dinner they were taken into rooms containing a number of organs, harpsichords (*clavicimbani*), flutes, and other musical instruments, where the prelates and nobles were assembled to see the joust, which was then in preparation. The ambassadors told some of these grandees that he (Sagudino) was a proficient in some of these instruments. Was asked to play, and did so for a long while, being listened to with great attention. Among the listeners was a Brescian, to whom the King gives 300 ducats a year for playing the lute, and who took up his instruments, and played a few things with him (Sagudino). Afterwards two musicians, also in the King's service, played the organ, but very badly; they kept bad time, their touch was feeble, and their execution not very good. The prelates who were present said the King would certainly desire to hear him, as his Majesty practises on these instruments day and night. Therefore desires Foscari to send him some compositions of Zuane Maria's, whom he praises to every one, and some of whose music has been requested, in return for which they will give some of their own. Wishes also to receive a few new ballads.

The preparations for the joust being at length finished, the King made his appearance in very great pomp. On his side were ten noblemen on capital horses, all with housings of one sort, namely, of cloth of gold with a raised pile. The King's warhorse was caparisoned in the same manner, and in truth he looked like St. George in person on its back. The opposing party consisted of ten other noblemen, also in rich array and well mounted. Never saw such a sight. They jousting for three hours, to the constant sound of trumpets and drums. The King excelled all others, shivering many lances, and unhorsing one of his opponents. Did not expect to find such pomp. The King exerted himself to the utmost for the ambassadors' sake, and more particularly on account of Pasqualigo, who returns to France today, that he may be able to tell King Francis what he has seen in England, and especially of his Majesty's own prowess.

After the joust the ambassadors visited the Queen, whom Pasqualigo addressed in Spanish, in which tongue her Majesty replied. She is rather ugly than otherwise, and supposed to be pregnant; but the damsels of her court are handsome, and make a sumptuous appearance. They then took leave and returned to London.





1515.

Jack Madcap, the bearer, has behaved excellently on the journey, and kept them in constant laughter. Never saw a better boon companion.

London, 3rd May 1515. "*Raptissimz.*"

[*Italian.*]

June 8. 625. MOTION made in the Senate by the Sages, and carried, *Sanuto Diaries*, for a letter to the ambassadors in England desiring them to present a missive to the King, thanking him for having included the Signory in the league, &c. Instructions likewise for the ambassador Giustinian to use good offices with his Majesty, in conformity. v. xx. p. 257. [*Italian.*]

June 8. 626. The DOGE and SENATE to ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassadors in England. *Deliberazioni Senato Secreta*, v. xlv. p. 120, tergo.

In reply to the essential part of their letters, rejoice at the loving greeting given them by the King, and at his Majesty's reply demonstrating so excellent a disposition towards the Signory, and that he would write himself to the State announcing its inclusion by him in the new treaty with the most Christian King. For this they are to return thanks. Await the letters containing the nomination of the Signory, which they will ratify joyfully. For the fuller expression of their mind send the accompanying letter for the King, together with a copy for their own perusal, that their language may correspond when presenting it.

Have one important thing to add, namely, the reply to the King's promise of showing to the world how strong is the union between himself, the most Christian King, and the Signory. With regard to this, besides thanking his Majesty, desire Giustinian to use every effort for the maintenance of a good understanding between the two sovereigns.

Send summaries of letters from their ambassador on the eve of quitting Hungary, for communication to the King, that he may be acquainted with all the events of those parts.

[*Italian, 31 lines.*]

June 8. 627. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to the KING OF ENGLAND. *Deliberazioni Senato Secreta*, v. xlv. p. 121, tergo. Although the State's ancient observance paid to his Highness and his progenitors gave promise of his love and goodwill towards them and theirs, nevertheless, having very recently received letters from the Signory's ambassadors with him, fully detailing their gracious reception, cannot but experience extreme pleasure, which is increased by the recent account given him of the piety and religion, and of other rare corporal and mental endowments, whereby his Majesty daily distinguishes himself more and more. Returns therefore most exuberant thanks, considering the office performed in favour of the State remarkable and most affectionate; and most willingly offers everything in the State's power for his Highness's renown and glory. Congratulates him on his well being, and prays the Almighty to favour him, and most auspiciously to grant his wishes.

[*Latin, 13 lines.*]





1515.

June 15.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 29.

**628. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Had received five letters from the Signory, dated 20th and 26th April, in accordance with which, on the return of the King (who was hunting at a distance of 25 or 30 miles from London), they would again thank him for including the Signory in the peace with France, and demand repeal of the two crowns-*(scudi)* duty, levied in England on wines imported from Candia, but delay doing so until the State acknowledge the King's missive, announcing his alliance with Venice, which would additionally sanction their request. Doubt the good will of the Archbishop of York, and therefore anticipate difficulties, for he regulates such duties. It was reported that the King of France had marched towards Italy, followed by all France. Request the State to transmit news of the Levant and Italy, to give them an opportunity of visiting the King frequently, it not being customary in England to ask audience unless for the express purpose of announcing news, of which the King and court were very desirous.

Statement by Badoer of his pecuniary embarrassments. Was going to St. James of Compostella to fulfil the vow which he made when five of his servants died of the plague, while he himself escaped. If not at the public cost, would go at his own, provided his services during the last four years did not go unrewarded. The Lord of St. John's and other knights of Rhodes demanded the money which they had lent him.

London, 15th June 1515.

[Italian, 3 pages, or 78 lines.]

June 15.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. pp. 284,  
285.

**629. PELEGRIN VENIER to his BROTHERS in Venice.**

Palermo, 23rd May 1515.

The writer (*scrivam*) of the English bark had arrived there. Said that he had a crew of 44 men, and that a galley and a bark fired into his stern. That having an iron mortar-piece (*una bombarda di ferro*) on deck, he fired a shot, and greatly damaged those on board the galley; but at the second shot his mortar burst, so that the enemy with their hand-guns (*schiopeti*) killed and wounded everybody on board the English ship save 12, and thus captured it. It had a full cargo, 470 pokes (*poche*) of wool, 2,400 pieces coloured kerseys, 500 quintals (*chantera*) of tin, much lead, 500 pieces broad cloth, 1,000 dozen calf skins, and much other merchandise.

There were many kerseys for the Malipieri. Three English barks had arrived at Messina with much merchandise for Scio; and a Ragusan ship was following another ship of Ragusa with wines of Candia bound for London, having also reached Messina.

[Italian.]

June 23.

Lettere del Col-  
legio (Secreta).  
File no. 4.

**630. The DOGE and COLLEGE to ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN.**

Give details of the war in the north of Italy with the Spaniards, which they may communicate to the King and to such other persons as they may think fit.

[Italian.]



1515

June 15

Original Letter  
Book, St Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 22.

628. ALEXANDER BADGER and SEBASTIAN CHRISTIAN to

STOBERY.

Had received five letters from the Signory, dated 20th and 21st April, in accordance with which, on the return of the King (who was hunting at a distance of 25 or 30 miles from London) would again thank him for including the Signory in the peace. France and demand request of the two crowns (arch) delay doing so. England on which imported from Canada, but delay doing so. the State acknowledge the King's message, announcing his return with Venice, which would additionally sanction their request. Doubt the good will of the Archbishop of York, and therefore not quite difficult for he regulates such duties. It was reported by the King of France had marched towards Italy, followed by France. Request the State to transmit news of the Frenchman Italy, to give them an opportunity of visiting the King, if it not being customary in England to ask audience unless for express purpose of announcing news, of which the King and we were very desirous.

Statement by Badger of his pecuniary embarrassments. going to St. James of Compostella to fulfil the vow which he made when five of his servants died of the plague, while he himself escaped. It not at the public cost, would go at his own, provided services during the last four years did not go unrewarded. The of St. John's and other knights of Rhodes demanded the money which they had lent him.

London, 15th June 1515.

[Italian, 3 pages, or 78 lines]

629. PERCIVAL VENIER to his BROTHERS in Venice.

London, 22nd May 1515.

The writer (captain) of the English bark had arrived at said time he had a crew of 45 men, and that a galleon and a frigate were in the state. That having in him master-piece (and he found his crew) on deck, he fired a shot and greatly damaged the enemy's galleon; but at the second shot his master-piece was killed and the enemy with their hand-guns (whipped) killed and wounded everybody on board the English ship save 12, and thus captured. It had a full cargo (570 boxes) of wool, 2,400 pieces of kerseys, 500 pounds (of silver) of tin, much lead, 500 pieces of cloth, 1,000 boxes of silk, and much other merchandise.

There were many kerseys for the Malabar. Three English ships had arrived at Messina with much merchandise for Sicily; and Ragusan ship was following another ship of Ragusa with wine. Candia bound for London, having also reached Messina.

[Italian]

630. The Duke and Countess to ALEXANDER BADGER and

SEBASTIAN CHRISTIAN.

Give details of the war in the north of Italy with the Spaniards which they recommend to the King and to such other persons as they may think fit.

[Italian]

June 23

Letter of Col-  
legio (Secret)  
The no. 4

630. The Duke and Countess to ALEXANDER BADGER and

SEBASTIAN CHRISTIAN.

Give details of the war in the north of Italy with the Spaniards which they recommend to the King and to such other persons as they may think fit.

[Italian]



1515.

June 24.  
Patti Sciolti,  
no. 754.

**631. HENRY VIII. to DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO.**

Acknowledges the Signory's thanks for having been included by him in the peace between England and the late King of France, Lewis XII., as also in the recent agreement with the new King Francis. Is convinced of the Signory's friendship by many proofs, of which he considers the embassy of Andrea Badoer was not the least. Thinks highly of Badoer, and expresses himself in flattering terms of his successor. It only remains for the State to announce by letter its willingness to be comprised in the alliance; and that this may be done the more correctly, transmits a copy of the clause whereby the Signory is included with his other friends.

"From our palace at Greenwich, 24 June 1515."

[*Countersigned:*] And. Ammonius.\*

[*Original, paper, Latin, 19 lines.*]

July 3.  
Original  
Letter Book,  
St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 29.

**632. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Transmit the letter from the King, announcing the peace with France, in which he had comprised the Signory. Had audience of the King on that day (3rd July) at Greenwich; were asked by him if they had any news. Replied that their information related solely to the great preparations making by the King of France. Rejoinder of King Henry that similar intelligence had been communicated to him by his friends and servants at the French court.

London, 3rd July 1515.

[*Italian, 1½ page.*]

July 3.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 31.

**633. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.**

Had informed the King of the French King's preparations, and that he was about to leave Lyons and proceed beyond, without specifying whither, as the King and Lords appeared to disapprove of the Italian expedition. In reply, the King expressed, in Latin, his belief that King Francis would not go into Italy during the present year, and inquired whether King Francis was considered the friend of Venice, and whether he was going into Italy for the service of the State. The ambassadors answered, also in Latin, that the Signory believed him to be their friend, both because even before coming to the throne he evinced regard for the Signory's interests, and lamented the wrongs done her heretofore, and also on account of the recent confederation. To the second inquiry, answered that King Francis was going into Italy chiefly to recover his duchy of Milan, and consequently the territory of Venice, which had been unjustly seized by her enemies. To this the King replied: "If your sole hope is based on the favours of the King of France, you will be deceived, for when he has recovered the Milanese he will seize the rest likewise. He is fresh to the war and young, and has money at his disposal; you, on the contrary, have expended considerable sums. On his arrival in Italy he will be at liberty to act as he pleases, and I would that you had made an adjustment [with

\* There is a transcript of this letter in Sanuto's Diaries, vol. xx. p. 397.







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Maximilian], as it would be better for you to sacrifice one town [Verona] than lose the whole. I know that King Lewis, although my brother-in-law, was a bad man; I do not know what this youth may be, but, at any rate, he is a Frenchman, nor do I know how far you can trust him. He is certainly very popular, much more so than King Lewis."

The ambassadors confirmed this last remark, saying, that in truth he was not only loved but adored by his subjects; and the King rejoined: "*Per Deum! ipse dat malam causam suis, in hoc principib regni dare tot labores et impensas suis subditis*, by such vast military preparation."

Defended the Signory's policy, as they could not make an agreement against France, and at the same time preserve their faith. The King enquired whether Spain was the enemy or friend of Venice. Replied that the King Catholic had greatly injured Venice by his army in the Vicentine and Paduan territories, and in the Polesine. The King said, "*Non possumus bene loqui de hoc propter causas*;" and then asked how the Signory stood with the Pope, and to which side he leant, answering the reply thus: "I could not believe you were otherwise than friends with the Pope; for I likewise am his good son, and shall always be with his Holiness and with the Church, from which I mean never to depart; and I think I have sufficient power with the Pope to warrant hopes of my making him adhere to whichever side I choose." The same remark had been made a few days previously by the Archbishop of York. Did not show distrust of the Pope, especially because the King was much inclined towards him.

The King returned to the topic of the King of France, saying the latter would deceive the State, and that he knew for certain, through language uttered by King Francis himself, and communicated by certain friends and servants at the French court, that he would not cross the Alps that year. He added, "and should this be the case, what can you do? for you will remain single-handed against so many potentates, and against the Switzers."

Asked if he knew why, after having made so much military preparation, King Francis delayed his march, and, after some hesitation, the King at length said, "*Ego volo fateri veritatem; ego credo quod metu mei, ne aliquam vim inferam ejus regno, non transilabit montes.*"

Considering this a matter of extreme importance, remarked that, if it was so, King Francis must have been deterred by what King Henry had never imagined, by reason of his confederacy with France and Venice. The King rejoined, that according to the agreement he was at liberty to succour the enemies of France, should she be the aggressor; and if she were attacked he might lend her his support; "so that," said he, "my belief is, that if I choose he will not cross the Alps, and if I choose he will cross." Of similar tenor were the remarks made a few days previously by the Archbishop of York.

Answered the King, he should bear in mind the claims not only of France but of Venice, whose territory had been so iniquitously seized, and her ruin meditated, notwithstanding the treasure ex-







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pended and blood shed by her in defence of Christendom. There was no hope of recovering their territory, except by the coming of the King of France into Italy, and therefore they besought King Henry to further the Signory's interests with the Pope, and assist the undertaking.

In reply, the King expressed great love for Venice, saying his sole regret was that she should be deceived when expecting succour; which distrust of France his Majesty repeated in English to Badoer, thereby showing that both he and all those in authority under him deeply resented the invasion of Italy by King Francis, dreading the increase of his power. So great a rivalry for glory between the two young Kings might rust the metal, a result undesirable until France and Venice had both recovered their territories; after which, a contrary opinion might perhaps be entertained.

The Signory, *amore Dei*, ought not to fail keeping the King well advised, or to furnish the means of visiting him and converting him from his opinions; it being impossible to do so without some missive from the State, as it was contrary to the custom of the country to visit the King without some cause. Urge the frequent transmission of summaries of news, from France, Italy, and the Levant.

Considering the clause mentioned by the King to be of extreme importance, would endeavour to obtain it from some of the Lords [of the Court], although they considered it well nigh impossible, as in such matters the English proceeded with extreme caution.

London, 3rd July 1515.

[*Italian, 5½ pages, or 141 lines.*]

July 3.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 32.

634. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

After writing the above were secretly informed by an English gentleman, a great friend of Badoer's, that on the 1st of July the King determined to send the Lord Chamberlain to King Francis, to tell him to beware of infringing his agreements.

This informant heard it said in the chamber of King Henry, that the King of France was a powerful monarch, being Lord of France and Brittany, and by going into Italy would become yet more powerful, and seize the Milanese and other territories; and that it would not suit England to have so great a neighbour. Lord Worcester was to leave on that evening (3rd July). Should the report be true, the ambassadors trust that King Francis will have realized his intention before the Lord Chamberlain's arrival.

As no hostile preparations were visible in England, the Lord Chamberlain's mission may have proceeded from the Pope, with whom the King is closely linked.

London, 3rd July 1515.

[*Italian, 19 lines.*]

July 6.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 33.

635. The SAME to the SAME.

On the morning of the 5th asked the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord High Treasurer, for news. He answered them, "The King of France will not cross the Alps this year, and I do not know how, without aid, you can cope with so many enemies conspiring against you; it







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would have been well to make some agreement for the avoidance of utter annihilation."

Endeavoured to ascertain why King Francis had renounced his project, and after some little hesitation the Duke replied that, owing to the past wars, the whole of France was reduced to great distress and misery, and therefore, at the suggestion of his councillors, King Francis would not cross the Alps, and especially as he was certain of considerable opposition from the Switzers. As the Duke seemed to reproach the Signory for not having made terms with their enemies, told him that the State had been unable to enter into any agreement without breach of promise, in virtue of her confederacy both with the late King Lewis and his successor, which bound them in like manner to King Henry. That in the next place, according to the agreement proposed to the Signory, Venice, under pretence of ceding Verona to the Emperor, would have lost all her possessions in Lombardy, Verona being situated between that province and the march of Treviso.

The Duke rejoined that those towns, however, were not the patrimony of Venice, but taken from other powers. Replied to the effect that republics had no patrimony, none of their dominions being derived from forefathers and ancestors, but that legitimate and just acquisition and long possession constituted their equitable titles, and by such tenure the Venetians held their towns in Lombardy, which had been obtained in the wars waged a century previously with the Dukes of Milan, both by battle and by treaties and ratifications of peace. That they had acquired Crema and Bergamo by treaty, Brescia by surrender and long siege, and Verona likewise by surrender; all which towns they had now held for many years, during the lifetime of Duke Philip, Duke Francesco, Duke Galeazo, Duke John Galeazo, and Duke Ludovic, as was well known and acknowledged. That Verona had belonged to the Scaligers, who left no heirs, and that the Emperor, who then held it, had no more right so to do than the Soldan of Egypt: so that the Duke of Norfolk might comprehend whether Venice had been wronged or not.

Next endeavoured to inspect all the clauses of the agreement between England and France, in order to ascertain whether they comprised any article whereby King Henry could prohibit King Francis from undertaking the Italian expedition, or which authorized England to succour the enemies of France. The Duke of Norfolk said he was willing they should see the articles, but they must speak to certain other Lords of the Council; adding, however, that the only clause relating to that sort of confederacy purported that if either of the parties made a demand of mutual aid, it was to be conceded *impensis petentis*.

Inquired the reason for sending the Lord Chamberlain to France. The Duke answered that he was not going, and desired them to confer with him again, as he wished to have a long conversation with them after they had seen the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Winchester.

On the afternoon of the same day, went to the Archbishop of York, who really seems to rule all England, and he confirmed the







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statement, "*Regem Gallorum nullo pacto esse transiturum montes hoc anno*," assigning the same reasons as those above mentioned, and adding that he knew not how to qualify the prudence of the French King and his councillors, who, despite the distress under which his subjects were labouring, and the hostility of the Switzers, proposed to descend into Italy; that he had never cared either to ask the aid of England, or to make the slightest communication concerning his undertaking, showing that he held his English Majesty in small account, although the latter had it in his power to give or withhold from him the means of going into Italy; and that on his King depended the stay of King Francis on the French side of the Alps, or his march beyond them.

Considering this of great importance, endeavoured to learn how it was possible; but the Archbishop did not choose to give any further explanation, though he repeated the charge yet more positively, and complained with the utmost bitterness, saying, "He never writes hither; he does not impart any of his secrets; he treats all our subjects as enemies, and allows his own people to capture the ships and vessels of England, without enforcing any compensation soever. He has sent the Duke of Albany, who styles himself governor, into Scotland, and will not desist until he has compassed the death of the Queen and of the infant King, in order to make himself master of that realm. We first offered our services to King Lewis, to make terms between him and the Switzers; and we did the like with this present King, because we have great authority with them: but King Francis has never deigned even to thank his Majesty. Ponder, my Lords ambassadors, whether this is to be borne; and say if these are the fashions of confederates. *Per Deum! Rex noster decrevit servare honorem et existimationem suam.* This indeed I promise you, that should France alter her style, King Henry will change his mind: let King Francis evince regard, esteem, and trust in him; communicate his affairs; treat his Majesty's subjects well; and not attack our ships; in that case the King of England *servabit fœdus initum*, and will not swerve thence, *nisi lacessitus* by legitimate causes. I was the author of this peace, contrary to the opinion of many of these lords; and I will moreover maintain it, should King Francis choose to do his duty; but if it be his intention to persevere as he has commenced, I will raze my own fabric; and I assure you that all these (*sic*)\* reproaches have been cast upon me by those members of the Council who were averse to this peace."

The Archbishop added much other very warm language, similar to that of the King on the same subject. Deemed it advisable to apologize for King Francis, but without increasing the just indignation of the right reverend of York. In the first place, touching the maltreatment which he said had been exercised against English subjects, remarked that officials frequently acted contrary to the will of their sovereigns; that with regard to the seizure of property and vessels, they knew not what to reply, though possibly

\* "Certificandovi che tutte queste pontature sono mie, obiecteme da questi che non volevano tal pace."







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the like had been done in this matter also, although the King had ordered their release. That, with reference to the non-communication King Francis might perhaps have prepared this army with the sole intention of attacking the Switzers, who were doubtless coming to invade his kingdom; but, not having decided upon undertaking the Italian expedition, had therefore made no communication to this effect: added to which, even though determined thereon, if he nevertheless anticipated having to delay, by reason of hostilities from the Switzers or from others, he might possibly not have thought fit to announce his resolve, lest it should seem that he was afraid of the Switzers; and that in point of fact it would be a degradation for him to abstain from going into Italy, after his intention had been so publicly announced. Said they believed this was the opinion of King Francis, as they knew that the Pope had made similar complaints, and that his Majesty had excused himself for having made no announcement on the plea of not having decided on crossing the Alps. Upon this the Archbishop replied, "*Per Deum! Domini Oratores*, this was also my own reply to these Lords of the Council, to exonerate the King of France, for in truth there is no better way; but I perceive that this apology likewise does not avail, for he might easily have announced his intention of going into Italy, should circumstances permit, without bloodshed, and that he would not march otherwise. Such a course, instead of disgracing him, would have been the act of a most clement prince. Nevertheless," he again repeated, "let the King of France act by the King of England as a friend and confederate, showing that he holds him in account, and his Majesty will abide by the confederation as due; if not, he will prove himself a powerful monarch, both in troops and treasure."

Then asked to which side the Pope seemed to lean, whereupon the Archbishop smiled and said, "You know as well as I do, and would fain know less; but rest assured that this King's example will be followed by his Holiness, we being of one and the same mind with him, and our fortunes the same. Should our King espouse the French interests, the Pope will do the like."

Express their belief that the King and his Privy Council are convinced that, through their influence with the Pope, and by reason of the impediments raised by the Switzers, England will have it in her power to prevent the invasion of Italy by France, and that hence arose such positive assertions that, should King Henry choose, King Francis would pass into Italy this year, but not otherwise.

London, 6th July 1515.

[*Italian, 5 pages, or 129 lines.*]

July 7.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 34.

636. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Had been told by the Bishop of Durham (Thomas Ruthal), a man of great authority, and their friend, that the King of France would not pass into Italy this year, by reason of this great league between the Emperor, Spain, Milan, the Switzers, and the Florentines, to which the Pope also would perhaps become a party.







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Inquired if any one in England had certain knowledge of the French King's intentions. He replied in the negative. He said the King of England had not interfered, either to speed or prohibit the undertaking, although, by reason of the French King's misconduct, he would be entitled to thwart it. There was no fear of King Henry's swerving from the confederation, unless provoked by France.

With regard to Spanish affairs, the Bishop said England and Spain were reconciled; that King Ferdinand the Catholic would abide by the will of England in everything, and that the Pope was now so linked with England, that words could not exaggerate their mutual goodwill; so that in the affairs of France the policy of England would be that of Rome.

Concerning the Lord Chamberlain's embassy to France, the Bishop said that he was not to go, one of the governors of Calais having been appointed in his stead, to whom a commission would be shortly sent; and that the business related solely to indemnity for damages done to English subjects.

London, 7th July 1515.

[*Italian*, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  page, or 29 lines.]

July 16.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 35.

637. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the  
STATE.

Receipt of letters from the ambassador Dandolo in France, with assurances that King Francis was well disposed towards England. Thinking to please the Archbishop of York, who seemed to be the author of the peace between England and France, they went to him and stated that King Francis was very sorry that King Henry doubted his love and goodwill, to prove which he was about to send one of his gentlemen; using also many expressions calculated to generate concord between the two crowns. The Archbishop appeared much pleased with this communication, and said in reply, "Be assured, should the King of France show signs of valuing the friendship of our King, he will never violate the confederation and his faith; and in like manner as I was the author of the peace, so will I exert myself to confirm and preserve it. On the other hand, should King Francis choose to maltreat English subjects, and seem not to hold King Henry in account, his power is such that he will know how to avenge himself; for I tell you, *Domini Oratores*, that we have ships here in readiness, and in eight days could place 60,000 men on the soil of France; so we are able to thwart any of his projects at our pleasure."

The Archbishop stated that the Switzers were divided amongst themselves, and therefore the affairs of France and of Venice might turn out well. He also said that the Pope had in fact not yet formed any decision, but would doubtless follow the example of England; and that Genoa, apparently, had decided for France.

After this interview, by letters from Pasqualigo to his brother Lorenzo, dated Paris, 3rd July, heard of the great preparations of King Francis, and that he was about to conclude with the Swiss ambassadors an agreement negotiated by the Pope. Did not announce







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this news to the King or the Lords, in order that it might be first communicated by the expected French ambassador.

London, 16th July 1515.

[*Italian, 2 pages, or 53 lines.*]

Aug. 5.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 36.

638. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the STATE.

On the 29th ultimo had audience of the King at Greenwich. Well received. Did not allude to the repeal of the wine duties.

Whilst in the hall at Greenwich with other noblemen, there came a certain Reverend Dom. Baldassar Thoardi (Balthasar Stuart), a prothonotary, late secretary to Pope Julius, now returned from Scotland, having been sent thither by Pope Leo, to effect an adjustment. The principal disputes were now settled, so that the peace might be considered made, and the articles already agreed to were to be drawn up in writing.

Asked Thoardi about the Duke of Albany, who had been sent by King Francis into Scotland, and was considered a nobleman of great power and influence there. Inquired how he conducted himself, what amount of popularity he enjoyed, and whether he was on good terms with the Queen. The reply purported that the Duke of Albany was an amiable nobleman (*un gentil signor*), that his party and authority were great, that latterly he and the Queen were on the best terms, and that he was assiduous in his visits to her. No cause for discord between France and England could be greater than the presence of the Duke of Albany in Scotland, should he be at strife with the Queen, or with the Earl of Angus, her consort.

Thoardi had a long conference with the King on the day in question, and informed his Majesty that the Duke of Albany exercised great authority in Scotland, and that well nigh all had sworn fidelity and obedience to him; an assertion at variance with Thoardi's first account, and incompatible with the alleged concord between the Duke of Albany and the Queen. Would endeavour to learn the whole truth through some other channel.

Perceiving that the Duke of Suffolk, the husband of the Queen Dowager of France, was with the King, and had authority scarcely inferior to that of the King himself, presented credentials from the State, and addressed him in Latin, congratulating him on his marriage with Mary Queen Dowager of France, and alliance to the King of England. The Duke answered very lovingly, in English; said he loved the Signory by reason of the affection which existed between them and the King; and therefore urged first, that should the King of France cross the Alps, the Signory should be on the alert to obtain their territory, lest on the French being established in the Milanese, they should turn against Venice; and secondly, that when reinstated in their possessions, the Signory should diminish their military expenditure, and accumulate treasure, because their money would be needed against the King of France, by reason of his being a spirited youth, in greater favour with his subjects than any other King, and anxious for glory. The Duke repeated these comments twice or thrice very earnestly, and







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then said that the King had intended saying a few things to them on the day they went to Greenwich, but forgotten to do so, and had therefore charged him to make the [foregoing] communication in his name.

He said that one of the King's gentlemen had arrived from Ferrara and Mantua, to which states he had been despatched for the exchange of certain presents, and on behalf of the Princes of Ferrara and Mantua he entreated the King to mediate for them with Venice, and expressed their desire to refer their disputes with Venice to the King's arbitration.

Giustinian replied that, though he had recently come from Venice, he was not aware of any difference between the Signory and Ferrara and Mantua; and though these states had, during the League of Cambrai, shown themselves the most rancorous enemies of Venice, and though the Marquis of Mantua, who was captured by the Venetian forces and released unharmed, had done many acts of hostility against the Signory, yet notwithstanding the State, "*quæ non vult mortem peccatoris, sed ut convertatur et vivat*," would take no revenge.

Badoer had been knighted by the King, although he neither sought the honour nor desired it.

London, 5 August 1515.

[*Italian*, 5 pages, or 124 lines.]

Aug. 11.  
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta).  
File no. 4.

**639. The DOGE and COLLEGE to ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN.**

Announce receipt of their letters of 15th June and 3rd July. Perceive that they had executed the commissions contained in the missives of the State, dated 20th April, and also comprehend the goodwill borne by the King towards the Signory, as confirmed by a letter to the State from his Majesty himself. Enclose their reply, and on its presentation desire them to assure the King of the Signory's special observance. They are then to deliver the ratification of the league (which also accompanies the packet), in proof of the wish of Venice to maintain her ancient friendship with England. Desire the ambassadors constantly to endeavour to keep the King well disposed towards the Signory, and to do their utmost to maintain the understanding and peace between him and France; they being well aware that they are to exert themselves chiefly to that effect, and communicate concerning such matters as shall seem fit to them with their colleagues at the French court, to whom the State had transmitted orders accordingly.

[*Italian*.]

Aug. 11.  
Commemoriale,  
v. xx. p. 19,  
tergo.

**640. LETTERS PATENT** from Doge Leonardo Loredano, approving and confirming the nomination of the Venetian Signory by Henry VIII. in the confederacy made by him with Francis I., King of the French.

[*Latin*, 20 lines.]







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Aug. 11.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlv. p. 129,  
tergo.

## 641. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to KING HENRY VIII.

Had lately received his letter, replete with love and courtesy, whereby comprehends the incredible benefit yielded by the State's very ancient friendship and observance towards himself and his ancestors, ever most carefully cherished by them, not merely spontaneously and willingly, but by a certain innate custom. On perceiving how manifest and agreeable this goodwill is to his Majesty, felt grateful for the letter, and most grateful likewise were the State's ambassadors. Were he to seek to return such and so many thanks as the matter requires, a long narrative forsooth, yet would it be less, and express less, than his mind, which ever sought to prove the Signory's gratitude much more by will and deed than by words; nor could the State ever forget his Majesty's extreme goodwill in including the Republic amongst his chief friends in the treaty with France. Having been lovingly invited by the King to send signed letters of ratification to this effect, delayed until then the transmission of his thanks, and now forwards the ratification, praying the Almighty at one time or another to grant him power and opportunity to show himself mindful of so many good offices, and not an ungrateful debtor for such vast affection shown to the State by his Majesty.

Ayes, 210. Noes, 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Latin, 16 lines.*]

Aug. 11.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 448.

## 642. The SAME to the SAME.

Returns thanks to the King for having included the Republic amongst his chief friends in the treaty of peace between England and France.

August 11th.

[*Copy, Latin.*]

Aug. 12.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xx. p. 447.

## 643. MOTION made in the Senate by the Sages, and carried unanimously, for a letter to be written to the King of England in reply to the one written by him to the Signory, and accepting his offer to include the Signory in the league between the most Christian King and himself.

Note by Sanuto, that the letter was well commented, read, and composed, by the Secretary Bortolo Comin.

[*Italian.*]

Aug. 24.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 37.

## 644. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Giustinian had been suffering from gastric fever. Had received letters addressed to him, and others to the King from the State; and on that day (the 24th) other letters from the same, dated 23rd June, narrating the retreat in safety of the Venetian army to the Brentelle. The last letters arrived opportunely, as the friar who represents Spain and reported that the Venetian army had been put to flight; which report the Lords credited. The King and all the ministers were taking their pleasure in the country at a great distance from London.







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Arrival on the 7th of an ambassador from France, the President of Rouen, an ecclesiastic, who told King Henry the King of France would for ever maintain the peace contracted with England, and that he had decided on crossing the Alps with a considerable force to recover his Milanese territories.

In reply, King Henry expressed surprise that the communication should not have been made to him previously, and complained that the Duke of Albany, who had been sent to Scotland by King Francis, was acting insolently against the Queen of Scots and her children. The King complained also of the maltreatment of the English by the French, and of the piratical manner in which English ships had been plundered.

With regard to the first complaint, the ambassador apologized amply by showing the date of his credentials, and declined giving any answer to the other three, merely requesting letters from King Henry to King Francis, stating these grievances.

The Scots had lately attacked the English and their places on the Borders. The Queen of Scotland had retired into a certain fortress. Did not know what measures had been adopted by the English government, as the King and his Council were at a distance from London.

Demand of Badoer for money.

London, 24th August 1515.

[*Italian*, 2½ pages, or 66 lines.]

Aug. 25.  
Lettere del Collegio (Secreta).  
File no. 4.

645. The DOGE and COLLEGE to ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassadors in England.

Advance of the French [into the Milanese]. The troops of Prospero Colonna had been stripped, and he himself also captured and sent to France.

An ambassador from Sultan Selim had arrived in Venice, and on the 24th presented letters from him to the Signory, of which enclose a copy, to be shown to the King. The Spaniards were still in their usual quarters, but had announced that they intended to move.

[*Italian*.]

Sept. 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 43.

646. NEWS received through the PASQUALIGO Firm, by private letters, dated London, the 12th August, that the King had knighted the Venetian ambassador, Andrea Badoer.

[*Italian*.]

Sept. 9.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 45.

647. MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Dated the 4th and 5th September.

Had been told by the Pope that the King of England had joined the league between the Pope, the Emperor, Spain, and himself, and that he had signed it, and would attack France. In reply to the ambassador's remonstrances, the Pope said that should King Francis vanquish the Switzers, he would subsidize 10,000 of them, and





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exert himself to make the King of England and the other allies invade France.

[*Extract. Italian.*]

Sept. 14.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 64.

648. MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador in Rome, to the SIGNORY.

Dated 9th, 10th, and 11th September.

Details conversations with the Pope about French affairs, and his threats of forming a new league; that he would make the King of England attack France, to effect which he had forwarded stringent briefs, and had created the Archbishop of York Cardinal, having already obtained the votes of the Cardinals, and would proclaim him in the next Consistory.

Remark by Sanuto, that it was all idle talk.

[*Extract. Italian.*]

Sept. 15.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 38.

649. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

The French ambassador in England had received news from "Madame," the mother of King Francis, of the French successes in Italy, to the confusion of the Spanish ambassador, who had hitherto crammed the public with false intelligence to suit his own purposes; though the French victories seemed but slightly agreeable to the people of England, owing to the natural antipathy (*affectione*) that exists between the two nations.

The court was taking its pleasure, and would not assemble in London until Michaelmas.

London, 15th September 1515.

[*Italian, 1 page, or 42 lines.*]

Sept. 20.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 39.

650. The SAME to the SAME.

A King's courier had arrived in England from Rome, announcing that the Archbishop of York had been created Cardinal at the suit of the King, who, "*pedibus et manibus*," is intent on aggrandizing him. Therefore do their utmost to keep him on the most friendly terms, not only by reason of his very great influence with the King, but because "*in rebus agendis*" he displays great mental activity and diligence. As the Archbishop was then in a palace of his at a distance, had been unable to see him, but would offer him ample congratulations immediately on his arrival in London, where he was expected daily.

Had understood from a good source that the disturbances in Scotland were raging more than ever; owing to the Duke of Albany, who wanted to seize the Scottish princes when with their mother, but she withdrew into a fortress on the borders of England called Stirling, which the Duke besieged with 10,000 men; and thereupon, from fear, the Queen surrendered, and placed the royal infants in his hands. She herself, having apparently taking flight towards England with the royal moveables (*cum regia suppellectili*), was pursued by the Duke, who seized the goods, and left her with nothing but the clothes on her back and two female attendants. The whole





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blame of this cruelty would rest with the King of France, who had sent the Duke into Scotland.

London, 20th September 1515.

[*Italian*, 1½ page, or 36 lines.]

Sept. 26.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library.  
Letter no. 40.

651. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Arrival of Cardinal Wolsey in London on the 25th. Congratulated him immediately on his promotion, in a long Latin discourse, to which he made an elegant reply.

In reply to their inquiries for news, he said he had received letters from Brussels, dated the 18th September, quoting advices from Verona, in date of the 12th, purporting that all Italy was in arms. He then represented the affairs of King Francis and the Signory as being in extreme peril, and evinced greater regret for the Signory's danger than for that of others, blaming the State for not having made terms with the Pope. Defended the Signory's policy.

He then told them that the Duke of Albany had compelled the Queen of Scotland to write letters to the Pope and to the Kings of France and England, whereby it appeared she had surrendered her children and Stirling Castle, not by force or constraint, but of her own free will,—a manifest act of violence offered to the poor Queen, who had arrived in England destitute and bereft of her children and property. The Cardinal told the story with great passion, saying that never had such a thing been done, as to proceed to violence against a Queen, "*et pueros Regios*," who would doubtless come to a sad end. He said this was a bad return for the King of France to make to King Henry for maintaining the league inviolate, and losing so great an opportunity for invading France whilst King Francis was in Italy with all the princes and military, and his realms inhabited solely by women with their distaffs; whereas King Henry on the other hand had ships in readiness, and in a week could have landed an infinite number of troops, who would have conquered and destroyed along their whole line of march. He then said, "Believe me, his Majesty and the kingdom will not brook such an outrage," expressing himself with incredible emotion, which is shared by the other great personages of the realm. Replied that over a temple dedicated to Apollo in Greece the following words were inscribed, for observance by the wise, "*Patere et abstine*," added to which the Greeks had an ancient proverb, rendered in Latin thus, "*Festina tarde*;" and that, in accordance with those two precepts, the Cardinal would do well to discountenance any hasty resolve, until after a thorough investigation of the cause of outrage. They pledged their lives to the innocence of King Francis; first, because it would ill become a new King to commence his reign with such beginnings, especially as he was engaged in the Milanese expedition, during which it was unlikely that he would do what might stir up England against him, as there was no want of persons daily exhorting King Henry to violate the treaty; and secondly, because the letter dictated to the Queen by the Duke of Albany, which admitted that she had not acted under compulsion, afforded







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clear proof that King Francis was not privy to this outrage; otherwise the letter would have been useless, and not calculated to obtain the result desired by the Duke.

To some of the apologies the Cardinal replied by corroborating his charges, but seemed to admit that it was not for the interest of France to act thus by England at the present moment, and did not make any rejoinder about the Queen's letter. He said he would examine the matter, and requested the ambassadors, although he himself had already acquainted the French envoy with a great part of the intelligence, to repeat it to him, and act in such wise as to prevent his incurring penalty; repeating that unless King Francis put a stop to the proceedings of the Duke of Albany, King Henry would not endure it.

London, 26th September 1515.

[*Italian, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  pages, or 115 lines.*]

Sept. 27.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 41.

652. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the  
SIGNORY.

Early on that morning went to the house of the French ambassador, who was on the point of getting on horseback to go to the King, having just received letters from Madame (Louise of Savoy), announcing the treaty between King Francis and the Switzers, and the close negotiations for agreement with the Pope. Were much comforted by this intelligence, having been deeply distressed by the news received on the preceding evening from Cardinal Wolsey, although not fully convinced of its truth, as tidings received by way of Flanders were never verified.

The French ambassador read to them the letters from the mother of King Francis, dated Amboise, the 18th instant, and also those from the secretary Robertet and others, dated the 12th.

Acquainted him in the first place with the complaints made by Cardinal Wolsey about the acts of the Duke of Albany, and the extreme resentment demonstrated by the Cardinal, in which they supposed the other ministers participate. Told the French ambassador that at their request the Cardinal had promised that no precipitate step should be taken until it was seen whether the King of France was implicated; and stated in detail all that had been said by them to defend the innocence of King Francis, that he might announce the good offices employed by them throughout, for the advantage, honour, and greatness of his most Christian Majesty. Exhorted him to write to France, not only the words uttered by Cardinal Wolsey, but likewise his strong feelings (*vehementi affectu*): which the ambassador promised to do on his return. He requested them (Badoer and Giustinian) moreover to write to their colleagues resident with King Francis, to take such steps as they might deem expedient. Impressed upon him the necessity to soothe the English, to intervene in Scotland, and to obtain good treatment of English subjects in France.

The French ambassador was a man of singular goodness, excellent understanding, and discretion. Understood that the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain were striving to separate England







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and France, and through the disturbances in Scotland their exertions might be facilitated.

London, 27th September 1515.

[*Italian, 2¼ pages, or 55 lines.*]

Oct. 11.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 42.

**653. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the STATE.**

Some of the Lords, who had been long absent, had returned to London. On visiting them they made inquiries concerning the battle [of Marignano] between the French King and the Switzers, of which the ambassadors had received indirect news, through letters from Pietro Pasqualigo to his brother, and from Pasqualigo's secretary to Hironimo Molin. The Lords doubted the news, as they had received widely different intelligence. They had however just received other advices, to the effect that the French King had obtained the victory, but with great loss. They doubt the peace reported to be arranged between the Pope and the King of France. The Bishop of Durham alluded to the assistance received by the French from the Venetian General Alviano, without which the French would have been defeated. The Lords acknowledged the veracity of advices received from Venice. Present from the King of Spain to King Henry of a costly jewelled collar, two excellent horses, caparisoned, and a valuable sword; the object of the gift being to obtain military succour for the invasion of France. King Henry had refused the succour. Opinion of Cardinal Wolsey that the present was worth 100,000 ducats, and that King Henry deserved it, for all that he had done for Spain. Mentioned a rumour that King Ferdinand had endeavoured to obtain a subsidy of troops to serve in France. This the Cardinal denied, saying King Henry would never act contrary to the league. Through another channel had heard that the King Catholic had sent the collar as a pledge, to obtain money from King Henry.

London, 11th October 1515.

[*Italian, 2½ pages, or 59 lines.*]

Oct. 12.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi.  
pp. 204, 205.

**654. MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador at the Papal Court, to the SIGNORY.**

Dated Viterbo, 7th and 8th October.

Was there with the Pope, who was hunting. Perceived that the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors were more than usually familiar with the Pope, who told him the Emperor was holding a diet, and would come in very great force; that the Switzers likewise were holding a diet, and that England would attack France; adding, "We have sent him the articles of the agreement as we wish it to be; we do not know whether the King will accept of them."

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 16.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 43.

**655. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Return of the King to Greenwich, where they had audience of him on the preceding day: delivered the letters from the State returning thanks for the mention of Venice in the treaty with



and France, and through the disturbances in Scotland their  
 efforts might be facilitated.  
 London, 27th September 1515.  
 [Italian, 21 pages, or 55 lines]

653. ALEXANDER BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to  
 STATE

Some of the Lords, who had been long absent, had returned  
 London. On visiting them they made inquiries concerning  
 battle [of Marignano] between the French King and the Swiss  
 of which the ambassadors had received indirect news through letters  
 from Pietro Passarigo to his brother, and from Passarigo's suc-  
 cary to Hieronimo Molin. The Lords doubted the news, as they had  
 received widely different intelligence. They had however just  
 received other advice, to the effect that the French King had  
 obtained the victory, but with great loss. They doubt the per-  
 reported to be arranged between the Pope and the King of France.  
 The Bishop of Durham alluded to the resistance received by the  
 French from the Venetian General Alvisio, without which the French  
 would have been defeated. The Lords acknowledged the veracity  
 advice received from Venice. Present from the King of Spain  
 King Henry of a costly jewelled collar, two excellent horses capar-  
 hooded, and a valuable sword; the object of the gift being to ob-  
 military success for the invasion of France. King Henry had  
 refused the success. Opinion of Cardinal Wolsey that the present  
 was worth 100,000 ducats, and that King Henry deserved it.  
 all that he had done for Spain. Mentioned a rumour that King  
 Ferdinand had endeavoured to obtain a subsidy of troops to send  
 in France. This the Cardinal denied, saying King Henry would  
 never act contrary to the league. Through another channel  
 heard that the King Catholic had sent the collar as a pledge,  
 obtain money from King Henry.  
 London, 11th October 1515.

[Italian, 21 pages, or 55 lines]

654. MARINO GROSIO, Venetian Ambassador at the Pa-  
 Court, to the SIGNOR.

Dated Venice, 7th and 8th October.  
 Was there with the Pope, who was hunting. Perceived that  
 Imperial and Spanish ambassadors were more than usually familiar  
 with the Pope, who told him the Emperor was holding a diet at  
 would come in very great force; that the Swiss likewise were  
 holding a diet, and that England would attack France; adding  
 "We have sent him the articles of the agreement as we wish it  
 be; we do not know whether the King will accept of them."

[Italian.]

655. ALEXANDER BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to  
 SIGNOR.

Return of the King to Greenwich, where they had audience  
 him on the preceding day; delivered the letters from the Signor  
 returning thanks for the mention of Venice in the treaty w-

Oct. 11.

Original Letter.  
 Book, St Mark's  
 Library.  
 Letter no. 42.

Oct. 12.

Sancti Spiritus  
 v. xxi.  
 pp. 204, 205.

Oct. 16.

Original Letter.  
 Book, St Mark's  
 Library.  
 Letter no. 43.



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France. Communicated the advices from Hungary and Constantinople, of which they had made a brief summary in Latin, which the King demanded, for the purpose, they supposed, of showing it to the ministers (*li signori*), who were not then present. The King lamented the Turkish successes. Gave him the letter of Sultan Selim, translated verbatim into Latin. The King asked them for news of French affairs. Confessed that they had neither letters from the State nor from the ambassadors, their colleagues; but imparted the information alluded to in their letter of the 11th.

Request the Signory to transmit full, and veracious, as usual, information on Italian affairs.

Cardinal Wolsey had been indisposed with fever; were unable to speak to him about obtaining from King Francis his written ratification of the article comprising the Signory in the peace between France and England.

London, 16th October 1515.

[*Italian*, 1½ page, or 37 lines.]

Oct. 24.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxix. p. 32.

**656.** DEBTS of ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Decree of the Council of Ten. Put to the ballot that the College do assign 600 ducats for the departure of Andrea Badoer, ambassador in England.

Ayes, 26. Noes, 4. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 15 lines.]

Oct. 26.

Lettere del  
Collegio  
(Secreta).  
File no. 4.

**657.** The DOGE and COLLEGE to ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassadors in England.

Approve the replies made by the ambassadors at the conference held by them with Cardinal Wolsey, in justification of France and the Signory. Commend their congratulation with the Cardinal on his promotion to that most eminent dignity. For the fuller expression of their affection, have also written the accompanying congratulatory letter to the Cardinal, the tenor of which the ambassadors will perceive by the enclosed copy. Desire them to add the address, as the name and title are unknown to the Signory, and to present the original to him with such ample and loving form of speech as becoming.

The most Christian King, after worsting the Switzers in battle, had obtained Milan and the castle by agreement, and subsequently Cremona and the castle. The combined forces of France and Venice then marched towards Brescia, but lost their captain general Alviano, who was seized with a bowel complaint and died in a few days. This was a grievous and bitter loss, and the most Christian King immediately sent Gian Giacopo Triulzi to replace him, whereupon the Signory's forces encamped under Brescia.

March of the Spanish army by way of Bologna towards Naples. The Pope had left Parma and Piacenza to the most Christian King, who had already taken possession of them. The four procurators of St. Mark, appointed by the State ambassadors to King Francis, were already on their way to him; whilst on the other hand two ambassadors were coming from that King to reside at Venice.







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The affairs of the State were prospering. Asola, Lonà, and Peschiera had resumed their allegiance. To communicate this intelligence to the King and Cardinal, and other personages.

[*Italian.*]

Oct. 29.  
Letters from the  
Chiefs of the  
Council of  
Ten.  
File no. 14.

658. The CHIEFS of the COUNCIL OF TEN to ANDREA BADOER, Ambassador in England.

Remit to him a bill of exchange for 600 ducats, which he is to draw immediately, and then come away as soon as possible. Should he remain one day in England after the receipt of the money, the sojourn is to be at his own cost.

[*Original draft.*]

Oct. 29.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 44.

659. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Surprise in England at the silence of the State concerning the events of Italy. The letters from Madame (Louise of Savoy) and from King Francis himself (two being signed with his own hand,) were not credited, it being argued that, were the account true, the State would already have notified it; especially as all the letters received by the English court from Flanders, and through other channels, were of a contrary tenor. The French ambassador, resenting the small credit given to the missives of King Francis, wrote to him in such form, that he sent a king-at-arms to England to vouch for all the letters, setting forth his victory as most signal. King Francis greatly eulogized the feats of Bartholomew Alviano, and announced his death.

When visiting the Duke of Norfolk, the Treasurer, a person of very great authority, were told by him that the affairs of Scotland were in a bad way, by reason of the great dissensions between the people and the lords of the kingdom, some siding with the Queen and others with the Duke of Albany, who, having sent for two of the chief lords, the Queen's adherents, under safe conduct and oath guaranteeing their safety, caused them to be arrested, with the intention of maltreating them, but they contrived to escape to England. Perceive that the English Lords are much exasperated against the Duke of Albany, and wish to get rid of him, and reinstate the Queen; and that, unless King Francis make provision, England will go to war. The Duke of Norfolk has confirmed this impression; he stated that forces would be raised by sea and land, which may be credited, for ships in the Thames are being armed and supplied with cannon and other military stores. A galeas (*the Henry Grace de Dieu*) of unusual magnitude had been launched, with such a number of heavy guns that their weight would be too much for the strongest castle.\* This launch was attended by the King and Queen, together with well nigh all the prelates and lords of the kingdom, they (Badoer and Giustinian) being also present by invitation, and all dined on board at the King's expense. It appeared to them really a fine craft, provided it could be worked. Neither the French ambassador nor even the Spaniard were invited to the ceremony. The French ambassador, who was not in great

\* "Che non sapemo se una fortissima rocha fusse sufficiente a operarle."







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favour at the English court, is dissatisfied with his treatment. Endeavoured to prevent a rupture between the parties.

That day (the 29th) had visited Cardinal Wolsey, "*apud quem est summa totius regni.*" that he might complete the inclusion of Venice in the league with France. He said the King would write to the State, confirming its comprehension, and also to King Francis informing him of the same.

When the Duke of Norfolk alluded to the probability of war with Scotland, they inquired whether such a war would not be a breach of the treaty with France. The Duke replied that the treaty required the most Christian King to favour the Queen and her children, so as to secure for them the sovereignty of the kingdom, and that England sought but this. The French ambassador, however, denies any such condition. Having been unable to see the articles of the league, as the English ministry said they did not concern the Signory, have urged the French ambassador to obtain a copy of the articles for them.

London, 29th October 1515.

[*Italian, 3½ pages, or 80 lines.*]

Oct. 30.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 241.

#### 660. DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO to CARDINAL WOLSEY.

In addition to many motives for congratulating him on being made Cardinal, his recent good offices in favour of the State cause the Doge to rejoice at his elevation. His vigorous genius would render the grade additionally honourable. It was not less agreeable to hear from the Venetian ambassadors in England how graciously the Cardinal gave ear to the decrees and congratulations of the State, and in what amiable language he showed his good will towards the Signory.\*

Ducal Palace, 26th October 1515.

[*Latin.*]

Oct. 31.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 243.

#### 661. LORENZO PASQUALIGO, Merchant of Venice in London, to his Brothers ALVISE and FRANCESCO.

Dated 6th October.

Pepper had risen, as many months had elapsed since the arrival of any from Portugal; King Emanuel having detained all the ships at Lisbon to reinforce his fleet and army against the King of Fez, by whom he had been defeated. The Portuguese had landed at Alcassar with 10,000 foot and 1,500 horse, and marched towards Fez, from which city 6,000 cavalry and a considerable infantry force sallied and routed the Portuguese, killing 400 men and capturing all their guns, in number 70. The Portuguese retired to Alcassar, and returned to Portugal.

The Queen of Scotland and her new husband had taken flight in disguise, because the Duke of Albany wanted to seize them and make himself Regent of Scotland. He had got possession of the two sons of the late King. The Queen was seven months gone with child, and was at Berwick, where her husband who fell at Flodden lay buried. Her brother, the King of England, had sent her a

\* This letter does not exist in the Senate's Registers, the College Files, or the "*Commemoriali.*"







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present of six gowns of cloth of gold, of silver, and of silk, for herself and for her husband, besides money; having determined that she was to remain at Berwick until after her confinement, when he would send for her to London. It was said that in the spring he would fit out an army and fleet against Scotland. There were then in England three pregnant Queens: the Queen Consort of King Henry; his sister, the Queen widow of France, at present wife to the Duke of Suffolk; and thirdly, the Queen widow of Scotland: so that three cousins of royal blood would be born well nigh at the same time.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Oct.

## 662. SHIP LAUNCH.

Documents concerning the Arsenal in the Venetian Archives.

Note given [apparently to one of the masters of the Arsenal] by Cesare Ziliolo, chancellor subordinate, extracted by him from a letter received from his father, who was secretary with the ambassadors accredited to the King of England.

King Henry of England, having built a large galleass, went on board it on the 25th of October with the Queen, the court, the bishops, and the two Venetian ambassadors. On the following morning mass was sung; after which dinner was served in state.

The King had a separate table; the barons, bishops, ambassadors, and the ladies had separate places. Each space was hung with tapestry. The rest of the retinue, and some persons of condition, were at the tables towards the prow.

Below was the place for the rowers, and above them was a deck, on which were five heavy pieces of artillery on each side astern, and two forward, with an innumerable quantity of falconets (*spingarde*), harquebuses (*archibuse*), and muskets (*scoppetti*); the whole deck being strewn with gravel, having the appearance of an extensive open plain (*et era tutta ingariduta, et era come una gran campagna di sopra*.)\*

The ship had four masts, three with tops; above the tops were three masts for three sails; above the mainmast was a mast which had another top, and above this second mast was a third mast for another sail; so that the ship could set eight sails. Around were many banners, all gilt with the royal arms and emblems. On board were 60 gunners (*huomini bombardieri*) and 1,200 fighting men.

The King was dressed galley fashion, with a vest of gold brocade reaching to the middle of the thigh, breeches of cloth of gold, and scarlet hose, a gold chain of more than four fingers' breadth, which he wore like a cross belt, a gold whistle more than a span in length, and a number of jewels on either side.

The King took the Venetian ambassadors and showed them the whole of the galleys; no other ambassadors were invited. The King showed the vessel to the Venetians only, having heard that they were able seamen, and had very fine aquatic "*fustes*."

This galleass was as large as three Venetian first-rate galleys.

[*Italian, 25 lines.*]

\* It is possible the writer may mean that the deck was "*turfed*," and had the appearance of a spacious "*meadow*;" but although the word "*ingariduta*" bears some resemblance to "*ghiera*" (gravel), it can scarcely be converted into "*lota*" or "*piotta*," which in Venetian signifies turf.







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Nov. 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 249.**663. MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador at the Papal Court, to the SIGNORY.**

Viterbo, 31 October.

Was following the Pope, who had been making great preparations for his entry into Florence and Bologna, and would spend 30,000 ducats for the apparel of his retinue. Had been told by Cardinal Bibiena that a league was being negotiated between the Emperor, Spain, and England. The Pope meant to quit Viterbo on the 8th November, and to enter Florence on St. Andrew's Day.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Nov. 14.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 45.**664. ANDREA BADOER and SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

No further steps taken concerning war with Scotland. On that day, the 14th November, the Parliament was to have assembled, but did not meet. It was to discuss the attack on Scotland, and would commence its sittings in the course of the week. Account given them by the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury of the defeat of the Venetians under Brescia by the besieged. The news was received from the English ambassador with the Emperor, and was credited in England.

Although two months had elapsed since the battle [of Marignano] gained by the French, remained without any advices from the State. This silence was detrimental to the Signory's interests in England.

London, 14th November 1515.

[*Italian, 1½ page, or 40 lines.*]

Dec. 6.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 46.**665. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Departure of Andrea Badoer on the 19th November, accompanied by the sincere good wishes of the King and all the great personages of the kingdom, who considered him quite in the light of a native Englishman, by reason of his excellent qualities. After his departure, received letters from the Council of Ten, addressed to Badoer alone, ordering him to return, and enclosing a bill of exchange for 600 ducats drawn by Alvise Pisani on Nicolò Duodo. Would retain the bill until the receipt of further orders.

Went to Greenwich to acquaint the King with the news transmitted on the 26th October. Early political news is much appreciated by the King and the Government, because the advices received through the Emperor were often untrue.

Had, in the Signory's name, complimented the Cardinal and presented the letter from the State, for which he returned thanks.

Informed by the ministry, that the peace between England and the Catholic King had been concluded. This result would not disturb the peace either with France or with Venice, as the character of King Ferdinand was well known to King Henry and to the English cabinet.

The Archduke (Charles of Burgundy) was negotiating peace between the Emperor and France, through means of a certain ambassador of his, who had been at the court of the Queen Regent







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(Louise of Savoy) upwards of two months. Had seen letters to the French ambassador here, from the French King and his mother, enclosing a copy of a despatch from their ambassador with the Pope, which described the good greeting given him by the Pope, and stated that he was proceeding with his Holiness as far as Bologna.

Receipt of letters by King Henry from King Francis, acquainting him with the agreement ratified with the Switzers, (but omitting the conditions,) his peaceable possession of the Milanese, and his intended conference with Leo X. at Bologna, for the purpose of negotiating a Christian expedition against the Turks; and exhorting King Henry to pursue the same course.

The Queen Regent writes of the arrival of four Venetian ambassadors, praising the eloquent oration of Domenico Trevisano, and the sumptuousness of the embassy.

Complaint by one of the ministers that letters had been written to King Francis, announcing the preparations in England for hostilities against France. The minister implied the French ambassador was the author of these letters, and said they caused displeasure in England; and continued talking about the ambassador, who seemed but little to the taste of the English ministry. Answered that the ambassador complained much of the small account in which he was held in England, and exhorted the minister to treat the ambassador with greater favour. The minister declared he would make amends for past omissions.

London, 6th December 1515.

[*Italian, 3 pages, or 74 lines.*]

Dec. 13.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 344.

**666.** MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador at the Papal Court, to the SIGNORY.

Bologna, the 10th.

On the Monday morning preceding a public consistory had sat; and the Pope wanted the most Christian King to come and kiss his foot on the morrow, and to make his public entry on the 12th; but the King chose to enter on the Tuesday. Went to see the King, who had arrived at a distance of — miles from Bologna. Understood that the Switzers had not yet ratified the agreement, and that an agent from the King of England had arrived in Switzerland to pay (*pagar*) 10,000 of them.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Dec. 17.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 47.

**667.** SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Had been informed that two Florentine merchants were now making considerable purchases of bills, payable at Bruges and Antwerp; and it was suspected that these moneys were being remitted by the King to the Emperor. Complained of these remittances to the Cardinal, requesting that the moneys might not be delivered, until Venice had recovered Brescia and Verona. The Cardinal stated the report was false; that the bills were neither intended for the Emperor, nor of so large an amount as represented; that the persons lied who made this statement; that if it were true he would not hesitate to admit it, as the confederacy between







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Venice and England could not prevent the King from giving his money to whom he pleased; that the money had been sent for the purpose of purchasing a quantity of choice armour and ornaments for the King's own use, and that of his court; that the sum was not considerable, and that so long as he lived he would never counsel the King to do any act hostile to Venice, or to break the peace between England and France; concluding thus, "and hereof, *Domine Orator*, rest assured."

On the morrow went to the Duke of Norfolk. The Duke told him that, on the return to France of the most Christian King, King Henry meant to have an interview with him, and had determined on going with great pomp, for which purpose he had already disbursed 15,000 nobles. This the Duke declared was the plain truth, as no one would ever think of giving money to the Emperor, because it would be lost; neither was there sufficient friendship between the two crowns, that England should injure Venice.

Next day visited the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who assured him on oath that these moneys had not been drawn to the detriment of Venice, but for other uses of the King, though he would give no particulars; and that he should never counsel the King to injure Venice. Thanked him and requested that, if the facts should prove such as represented to him, the consignment of the moneys might be delayed until the Signory obtained Brescia and Verona.

Having spoken to these three ministers, did not deem it advisable to go to others, in order that, if the report was untrue, his action might not come to the knowledge of the King and cause him to resent such distrust.

The Queen of Scotland, who was on the borders of England, had been delivered of a daughter. Her life had been despaired of, but she was better, and on her recovery would by his Majesty's orders come to the court in London.

London, 17th December 1515.

[*Italian, 4 pages, or 99 lines.*]

Dec. 20.

668. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 48.

Had heard that upwards of 50,000 ducats were already disbursed, and that from time to time a yet greater amount was to be distributed through bills on Flanders, from whence the sums were to be remitted to several places, that they might thus reach the Emperor. Believes the reports, both on the faith of those who made the announcement to him, and also by reason of the quantity of money paid in London for bills on Flanders, causing a variation in the exchanges of from 7 to 8 per cent., and as the exchange had risen in London it had fallen in Flanders, in such wise that those who wanted bills thence, for other places, obtained 12 or 14 per cent. more than they would have done a month previously, and this because the ready money had been withdrawn thence for transmission to the Emperor.

Had not held any communication relative to this matter either with the King or with the Council, for all were absent at an unusual residence, at a great distance from London, with a few







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of the ministers, and the King would be put to no trouble,—an unusual proceeding. Understood that the King was expected shortly at Greenwich, and on his arrival, would go and speak to him in person about this business.

London, 20th December 1515.

[*Italian, 1½ page, or 31 lines.*]

Dec. 24.

Original Letter  
Book. St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 49.

### 669. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The English Government had determined on remitting to the Emperor, "*pro nunc*," 100,000 ducats, part of which had been forwarded to Flanders through bills of exchange, and part by special messengers, all which moneys were to be delivered at a certain German town (the name of which his informants were unable to state correctly), and from thence would reach the Emperor's hands. The same account had been received by the French ambassador in London, who had transmitted it to his King. Had also seen a letter from Flanders, containing a paragraph to this effect: "Owing to these bills of exchange for 100,000 ducats, belonging to the King of England, and destined for the Emperor, money here has risen upwards of 12 per cent., and so great is the scarcity of gold, that it can no longer be got."

Had heard the like from a person who frequented the Spanish embassy, and who rated the amount at 110,000 ducats. There can be no further doubt on the subject; for, first, there was the peace made between the Kings of England and Spain; then came the present from King Ferdinand to King Henry, namely, the collar with a very valuable balass-ruby, not sent as a gift, but as security for the moneys to be disbursed. There was also this fact, that England had two ambassadors with the Emperor, to whom the Cardinal's secretary (Richard Pace) had also been sent recently; added to which, couriers were constantly being sent to and fro by both parties.

The causes of so great a change were the successes of France, so bitterly felt by England. The present policy might be thus accounted for. First, England sought to raise difficulties in Lombardy, in the interest of the King of Spain, to prevent the march of King Francis to Naples. Secondly, King Henry purposed attacking the Scots next year, and being of opinion that France would protect the Duke of Albany, sought to occupy King Francis in Lombardy.

As the remittances could not reach the Emperor until the end of January, suggests that the Signory should hasten the recovery of Brescia and Verona.

London, 24th December 1515.

[*Italian, 2½ pages, or 51 lines.*]

Dec. 28.

Lettere del  
Collegio  
(Secreta).  
File no. 4.

### 670. The DOGE and COLLEGE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassador in England.

To continue the respectful notification of their affairs to the King. Give account of the siege of Brescia by the Venetian army, aided by a considerable French force. The besieged sent hostages into the Venetian camp with articles of agreement, in accordance with







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which the besiegers retired with their cannon to some little distance from the town; meanwhile, 15,000 men descended by the mountain passes of Germany, and entered the town with a few head of cattle. Subsequently the winter season prevented the prosecution of the siege, the Venetian and French forces being compelled to go into quarters for a few days, in the neighbourhood of Brescia, which they kept blockaded. The Signory hope soon to obtain both Brescia and Verona, as King Francis is now at Milan.

Leo X. and Francis I. have held a conference at Bologna, the Pope advocating peace between the Christian powers, so that all might join in an expedition against the Infidels. He (Giustinian) was to acquaint the King with these particulars.

[*Italian.*]

### A.D. 1516.

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Jan. 2.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 50.

#### 671. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

The King had returned to Greenwich. Went immediately to visit Cardinal Wolsey, who, for authority, might, *re verâ*, be styled "*ipse Rex*." Commenced discussing the affair of the moneys in most moderate terms, avoiding every cause of irritation.

The Cardinal listened most attentively and patiently for the space of a quarter of an hour, and then replied that what he had told Giustinian at their last conference was perfectly true, and that the sum was far short of 120,000 ducats. He proceeded to say:—

"I will speak to you with all sincerity and truth, and will tell you what becomes a Cardinal on the honour of the cardinalate. It is true that the King has remitted moneys to Flanders, which will reach Germany, and perhaps Italy, for two purposes; first, for the purchase of his personal ornaments, both weapons and other things. Then, again, we are aware that a number of princes whom I will not particularize to you, whether in France, in Germany, or in Italy, have pledged a quantity of beautiful jewels of great value, which we hope to obtain at no great cost, and therefore thought fit to avail ourselves of the opportunity of purchasing them, for at other times such things could not be obtained at a much greater outlay. This comes of the want of money felt by these princes, and although the remittances may reach the hands of our ambassadors, they will not be under the control of the Emperor. Neither you nor your Signory need believe that his Majesty would expend his treasure against the State by aiding the defence of Brescia and Verona. No man in England had so much as thought of such a thing, or of waging war on the King of France, or of opposing any of his undertakings, for had his Majesty (of England) chosen to act thus, he would have done so at a moment when he could more easily have injured France; but such is not the intention of this kingdom. By our grade and dignity, what we tell you is the truth, for we are not of such a nature as to choose that our







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word should prove vain and false ; and we should prefer not being honoured with this dignity, rather than do what is unworthy of it ; and to the obloquy (*cum supportatione*) of those who told and notified these things to you, *mentierunt in caput suum.*"

Told the Cardinal it was reported the affairs of Scotland had caused these remittances, with a view to detaining the most Christian King in Italy, and preventing any aid being sent to the Duke of Albany.

To this the Cardinal replied : " We cannot but admit that his Majesty has the affairs of Scotland much at heart, for were he to hold them in small account he would be '*una bestia*,' seeing that his sister, the Queen, owing to the Duke of Albany, is yet most grievously ill, having been prematurely delivered of a daughter, who subsequently died ; she having been expelled her kingdom, deprived of all her friends, part of whom are imprisoned, whilst others have been put to death. He, moreover, has taken the entire administration of the kingdom out of her hands, and what more immediately exasperates his Majesty is the fact, that he removed the two princes from their mother's guardianship and placed them under his own charge, since when one of them has died, and there now remains an only child, in the event of whose death the kingdom would fall to the said Duke. Think what reason, divine or human, can palliate such great cruelty, and whether his Majesty, remembering that he is a King, can tolerate the like ; for I promise and tell you plainly and intelligibly that he will not put up with it. If, however, the most Christian King remedy this grievance, you may believe that his Majesty will remain on friendly terms with him, though assuredly King Francis exhibits little gratitude for the faith kept towards him by his Majesty, who had everything in his power."

All this the Cardinal uttered very passionately, saying especially that, as he had been the author of the peace, and now sought to maintain it, he should be in extreme peril, unless the most Christian King took steps against these unheard of cruelties.

In answer, apologized for the most Christian King, on the ground of his being probably unacquainted with the circumstances. With regard to the moneys, represented that, even should King Henry wish to obtain jewels belonging to the Emperor, it was desirable for the sake of Venice that their purchase money should be detained, so as not to reach his hands until the Signory had recovered Brescia and Verona ; and that if the jewels were sold from necessity, there would be no lack of similar opportunities, as the Emperor only got out of one expense to enter into another.

In reply to this, after making sundry long speeches, the Cardinal said : "*Domine Orator*, be not anxious or dispirited about this matter, for I swear and tell you the truth ; this money is never to be in the Emperor's power : so I promise you that hence the Signory will experience neither detriment nor difficulty with regard to the recovery of her towns."

In rejoinder expatiated on the great causes for goodwill between the King and the Signory ; whereupon the Cardinal said, " Your words are many, but your deeds are few." Asked how the Signory had failed in observance towards England, and the Cardinal







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continued, "I do not indeed accuse the State of any fault at variance with the friendship and confederation between her and the King," finishing the sentence so as to give him to understand that the State ought to mediate between France and England concerning the affairs of Scotland. Said he meant to acquaint the Signory with the complaints made by his Lordship against the King of France with regard to the difficulties of Scotland; whereupon the Cardinal immediately said, "Remember that our King complains of three things: first, that his sister should have been expelled the kingdom and deprived of its government, which belonged to her both of right and by the desire of her late husband, as proved by his will; and his Majesty chooses her to be reinstated *in pristinum*, and given the guardianship of her surviving son; secondly, that the Duke of Albany should be removed from Scotland, as King Henry will never tolerate his stay there; and, thirdly, that the Queen '*Biancha*' (Mary Tudor)\* do receive back the jewels which King Lewis gave her as personal ornaments."

From the specification of these three demands, infers that the Cardinal wished the Signory to take some steps for their attainment.

Inquired whether what he had said about the remittances should be mentioned by him to the King. To this the Cardinal did not give a decided negative, but implied that the matter would not prove agreeable to his Majesty. Would probably, therefore, not discuss it further, as no good could result from his so doing, that might not be anticipated from what he had already said to the Cardinal, who was "*Rex et autor omnium*."

London, 2nd January 1516.

[*Italian*, 5 pages, or 116 lines.]

Jan. 4.  
Lettre del  
Collegio  
(Secreta).  
File no. 4.

672. The DOGE and COLLEGE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassador in England.

Commend his diligence greatly. As the King took pleasure in the Venetian advices, transmit a sufficient supply, and would continue so to do. Approve his policy with the English ministry to obtain favour with the King for the French ambassador. To do his utmost to keep the two crowns united for the common weal.

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 5.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 51.

673. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Intelligence received by the merchants Frescobaldi in London from the Salviati firm at Lyons, announcing the capture of Brescia by the Venetians. Although the account obtained well nigh universal credit, Cardinal Wolsey had informed him that it could not be true, by reason of letters received on that morning from the English ambassador with the Emperor. It not being customary (as already stated by him) to visit the King without some especial reason, availed himself of the letters from Lyons to obtain audience of his Majesty, who instantly said the report was untrue, and finally

\* It was customary in France to term a childless widow-queen "*la blanche reine*," in contradistinction to "*reine mere*."







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all the Lords (*questi Signori*) came to the same conclusion. Did not think fit to speak to the King about the remittances, having been assured by all the Lords, and also that very day by the Cardinal himself, that the money had not been sent to the Emperor, and was not destined to prove detrimental to the Signory; wherefore, to have broached the subject with his Majesty would have been a needless provocation. For this reserve was extremely praised by the Cardinal and other personages.

Subsequently, in a long conference, the Cardinal complained most bitterly of the outrages committed against the King by the Duke of Albany, and said that his Majesty would not tolerate them. The Duke of Norfolk also made similar complaints, saying that as one of the royal princes had been put to death, so also the sole remaining heir would perish, in order that the Duke of Albany might succeed. Attempted to soothe both the Cardinal and the Duke of Norfolk. As the French ambassador did not exert himself to justify King Francis, deemed it unbecoming to palliate proceedings which the French themselves were either unwilling or unable to defend, but would not, however, withhold such aid as might be in his power.

Had been assured positively by the Bishop of Durham that the remittances had not been made for the purpose of injuring Venice, and that a few days would prove that England sought the welfare of the Signory and not her detriment. He would give no further explanation; merely laughing, and continuing his conversation in the same strain. All the Lords said the same, with this addition, that the State would be deceived by the King of France; and inquired what he (*Giustinian*) would think, if, in the treaty of peace with the Emperor, the King of France had offered to abide by the clauses of the league of Cambrai? Endeavoured to ascertain the truth, but they evaded the question, either from not choosing to quote their authority, or because the thing was devoid of foundation. All in authority in England were bent on persuading the Signory to distrust France, to detach the State from King Francis. Should England and France go to war, it would be difficult for the former not to suspect Venice, as all the English supposed France and the Signory to be of one mind. Had subsequently seen the Bishop of Winchester, a dignitary of great authority and goodness, who also denied that the transmission of the money was to the detriment of the State, expressing himself as follows: "To you I answer thus; but were I speaking with the French ambassador I should not address him in such terms." Inferred that the remittances were destined for Italy, in which case they could only have been sent to the Switzers. Was assured by the French ambassador that the sums forwarded to them greatly exceeded the amount which had been stated. Understood that an envoy from the Cardinal of Sion had lately been in London incognito, and was already gone away, so that nothing but misunderstanding between England and France would come, unless the affairs of Scotland were settled amicably.

Requests the State to make such demonstration towards England that the amity may be maintained, all the Lords being really much inclined thereto. To obtain such a result it would only be requisite







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to send frequent letters with such foreign and Italian news as might seem fit to the State. Everybody was greatly surprised that the Signory did not write; for it thus appeared as if the King of England were held in small account, and all reliance placed on France.

London, 5th January 1516.

[*Italian*, 4 pages, or 87 lines.]

Jan. 14.  
Lettere del  
Collegio  
(Secreta).  
File no. 4.

**674.** The DOGE and COLLEGE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassador in England.

Report current at Venice amongst foreigners that the King of England had again, by bills of exchange, remitted a considerable sum of money to the Emperor, to enable him to carry on the war against Venice. Could with difficulty believe this; but he is diligently to investigate the matter, and, if true, to ascertain the amount thus remitted.

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 15.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 422.

**675.** NICOLÒ DE FAVRI, of TREVISO, to FRANCESCO GRADENIGO.

London, 20th December 1515.

The ambassador Andrea Badoer had departed on his way home on the 2nd December. Bills of exchange for 600 ducats having been received from the Signory, they were sent after Badoer to Flanders.

According to the news of the day, the King purposed levying a great army against Scotland in the summer, against the Duke of Albany, who, although a Scotchman, had been exiled, and now sought to return and make himself King; and the Queen, sister of King Henry, being apprehensive of this, came with her husband to his Majesty, who received her. Much was said in London by the merchants of every nation about the important embassy sent by the Venetians to the King of France, all talking about it according to their own opinions.

There was an ambassador in London from France, said to be a very sage man; also one from Spain, an Austin friar. The Queen was pregnant, as also the Queen widow of France, the King's sister, who had married the Duke of Suffolk.

[*Italian*.]

Jan. 19.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 427.

**676.** MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador at the Papal Court, to the SIGNORY.

Florence, 16th January.

Was told by the Pope that the King of England had remitted 100,000 ducats to Constance for the Switzers in aid of the Emperor, though the money had not yet been disbursed. The Emperor had sent 200,000 Rhenish guilders to the Switzers to obtain their services, and to prevent their making terms with France.

The Florentines were dissatisfied with the Medici government, as the Magnifico (Lorenzino) did many things of which they disapproved.

[*Italian*.]





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Jan. 20.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 428.**677. MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador at the Papal Court, to the SIGNORY.**

Writes from Florence in date of the 16th. Details his conversations with the Pope, who told him that the King of England meant to attack the King of France, and had certainly sent 100,000 ducats to Constance by bills of exchange, wishing the Emperor to come into Italy, to which the Emperor consented.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Jan. 21.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 52.**678. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the COUNCIL OF TEN.**

Conversation on that day with the French ambassador, who had received letters from Madame Louise and King Francis, urging King Henry to muster an army and march against the Infidel. In reply to the complaints made by the English ministry of the support given by France to the Duke of Albany, the French ambassador defended his proceedings so positively, that the ministers told him with great warmth that, unless King Francis recalled the Duke and reinstated the Queen, England would go to war with France. Inquired of the French ambassador, whether the assertion made by him to the ministry that the Duke of Albany was justified in assuming the administration of the kingdom, and depriving the Queen of the guardianship of her son, had been authorized by King Francis. The ambassador answered that he had no such commission, but spoke under provocation. Thought it well to tell him that, as he (the French ambassador) had received no commission from King Francis to enter into the merits of the case, or to defend what the Duke had done, he should not have entered into such details, but endeavoured rather to demonstrate that those proceedings were contrary to the will of his French Majesty. Although some of the English ministers were averse to war, the French ambassador had not spoken to them or visited them, so that they had neither evinced anxiety to confute those who advocated hostilities, nor had cause for doing so (*si che i non habia havuto ansa ne causa de poter repugnar la guerra*). Exhorted him to pay court to these ministers, and apologize for King Francis on the score of his disapproval of the outrages attributed to the Duke of Albany. The ambassador answered that indeed he would not visit them, as they were men who would not listen to reason.

Next asked if he had mentioned to the ministers his suspicions of the remittance sent by King Henry to the Switzers, that they might attack King Francis. The ambassador answered that he had not imparted his suspicions either to the King of England or to his ministers, as he was aware it would be of no use. Told him that if he entertained suspicions, it was his duty to have spoken without reserve. He replied that, if he were to press the matter home, it might induce immediate hostilities, the onus of which he would fain leave to his successor.

Would endeavour to keep King Henry well disposed towards Venice, and take the part of King Francis without offending either him or the English ministry. The preservation of peace would depend upon the attitude of France with regard to the







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affairs of Scotland. If King Francis did not meditate hostilities, it was necessary for his ambassador so to act as to prove that he had no complicity with the Duke of Albany, and that the guardianship of the Scottish Prince and the administration should be acknowledged *de jure*, according to the will of the deceased King of Scots.

London, 21st January 1516.

[*Italian*, 4 pages, or 87 lines.]

Jan. 21.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 433.

679. ANDREA GRITTI, Venetian Ambassador to the DUKE OF BOURBON at Milan, to the SIGNORY.

Date 18th January.

Was told by the Duke of Bourbon that King Francis had received letters from the King of England, dated 18th December, purporting that he had heard of the King's departure from Milan on his way back to France, of which he was glad; and that on the arrival of King Francis he should send Cardinal Wolsey and the Duke of Suffolk, his brother-in-law, as his ambassadors to congratulate him on the victory of Marignano. King Henry added that Queen Katharine was pregnant, and he requested King Francis to be godfather of the child, should it be a son, and the Queen of France to be godmother if the child should be a daughter. He also wrote that he meant to be the good friend of King Francis.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Jan. 25.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 438.

680. PIERO CONTARINI to ———.

Letter seen by Marin Sanuto.

The King of England, in a letter to the King of France, had said that Queen Katharine was pregnant, and he, King Francis, should put Queen Claude in the like situation.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Jan. 31.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 456.

681. MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador at the Papal Court, to the SIGNORY.

Letters dated Florence, from the 7th to the 26th January.

Conversations with the Pope and Cardinals, especially with Cardinal Bibiena. The King of England had written a letter to the Pope, telling him he was glad his Holiness had held a conference with the King of France, but complained that King Francis should have all the Switzers with him, as he, King Henry, also wanted his share of them, for whatever might occur.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Feb. 6.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 53.

682. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Arrival of an Imperial ambassador, who was a native of Asti, and a creature of the Emperor's. The object of his mission was known only to the ministry, but it was generally reported that he was come to confirm the league between the Emperor, King [Ferdinand] the Catholic, and King Henry, though some said he was come to ask for money for an expedition against King Francis and the Signory. Went with the French ambassador to Greenwich, where





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they found the Imperial and Spanish envoys, who had already had that day two conferences with the King. The French ambassador, who on that morning had received letters from his King, presented missives to his Majesty, which he read apart with the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and then returned to the ambassador and held a long conference with him. Did not know what they discussed, as they were at some distance from him, but the ambassador told him the letters purported that King Francis intended to preserve the peace with King Henry, and would agree that the Queen of Scotland should return to Scotland; that all her jewels and other things taken from her should be restored; that she should receive security for her dower, and that the Royal children—he did not know that one of them was dead—should be consigned to the guardianship of the nobles, as it was undesirable they should remain as wards, either of their mother, or of the Duke of Albany, who on their death would succeed to the crown. Should King Henry object to this proposal, King Francis was willing to refer the matter to arbitration, having returned [from Italy] to France in order to give him more frequent knowledge of his affairs, for which he hoped to receive a corresponding return. The King answered that King Francis must beware lest the affairs of Scotland should interrupt their friendship;\* that it was not the custom amongst sovereigns to refer their disputes to judges; and that he meant himself to be judge in the affairs of Scotland, without however swerving from the alliance between them, as, according to the articles, the Scotch business did not necessarily break the existing peace.

The King inquired whether he had any newsletter † from the State. Answered in the negative, though he wished to speak with his Majesty about matters of moment, and said, as the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors were at hand, that he had determined to delay till another occasion. The King said, "You shall have audience when you please, but we greatly marvel at your not receiving letters from the Signory, so many events having happened and happening daily."

It was more than ever necessary to cultivate the friendship of King Henry, who was able to supply the enemies of Venice with money, without openly declaring himself. In London there were embassies from all the greatest princes of Christendom, some seeking for money, others for favour, and all receiving letters weekly for the King; whereas the Signory, who had greater need of his Majesty than any of them, never wrote. Was therefore unable to negotiate and exert himself as he could wish.

Fears war between England and Scotland, and should the most Christian King declare himself for the latter, the English would make a demonstration against France, without, however, invading

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\* "Ma che el doveria dar opera che se havesse causa per le cose di Scotia non se interrompesse tal amicitia."

† "Lettera alcuna de nove."







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the French territory, as in the time of King Lewis. It was desirable that Venice should arrange the Scotch difficulties to the satisfaction of the two crowns.

London, 6th February 1516.

[*Italian, 3¼ pages, or 78 lines.*]

Feb. 7.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 54.

683. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Received the Signory's letters of the 28th December and 16th January, with duplicates addressed to Andrea Badoer. Read them to Cardinal Wolsey. Had their contents translated into Latin. Inquired the object of the Imperial ambassador's mission to England. Said he apprehended lest the confederacy between the Empire, Spain, and England should cause King Henry to supply money for the expedition against King Francis in Italy, and for the defence of Brescia and Verona. Compared the fickleness of Maximilian with the constancy of the Venetian republic; and warned the Cardinal that injury done to Venice would be detrimental to England herself, for that the Emperor was endeavouring to deprive the King both of his money and of his friends. Deprecated hostilities between England and France, and referred to the popularity of King Francis.

In reply, the Cardinal used the words of the prophet David, "*trepidaverunt ubi non erat timor*," and reiterated that the Emperor would not receive the smallest mite from England to injure the Signory; and that, were it otherwise, he would say so, for the confederation did not prohibit the King from giving his money to whom he pleased. Rejoined that it was to be feared lest the Emperor should employ the money against Venice, although it were not given him for that purpose, and that the maintenance of Venice might prove very beneficial to England.

The Cardinal being then sent for, went to the Bishop of Durham, with whom he (Guistinian) held a similar conversation, and who treated the matter jocosely, saying that England chose to benefit the Venetians despite themselves. The English Court bore the worst possible will towards King Francis, and was of opinion that he would seize the Venetian territory; so by seeking to expel him from Italy, either openly or secretly, they imagined that they were benefiting Venice. Told the Bishop of Durham that the King of France was the Signory's sole supporter in Italy; that the King of Spain, when allied with Venice, had delivered Brescia to the Emperor, and that it might thence be inferred in whose hands the Venetian territory would rest if King Francis were expelled from Italy. Still laughing, the Bishop replied: "You will see a few days hence that what this kingdom is doing is all for the benefit of your State." Did not mention his suspicions to King Henry, the Cardinal having told him that such an announcement would be displeasing to his Majesty.

London, 7th February 1516.

[*Italian, 5½ pages, or 113 lines.*]







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Feb. 8.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 55.

**684. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Notwithstanding the King's answer to the proposal to settle the disputes with France concerning Scotland by arbitration, three auditors were assigned to the French ambassador, who was introduced to the Privy Council that day (8th Feb.), where he made the proposal; and the Council had determined that the disputes should be decided by arbitration. Had heard from the French ambassador that King Francis would not send a proxy to stand godfather in his stead for the child to which Queen Katharine was expecting to give birth, because the invitation had only been given verbally by the Duke of Suffolk. Would endeavour through Cardinal Wolsey to adjust this misunderstanding.

London, 8th February 1516.

[*Italian*, 1½ page, or 26 lines.]

Feb. 11.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxi. p. 471.

**685. MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador at the Papal Court, to the SIGNORY.**

Letters dated Florence the 8th and 9th February.

A league was proclaimed at Naples, in Spain, and in Germany, between the Emperor, the King of Spain, the King of England, and the Archduke of Burgundy; the alliance with the most Christian King being maintained. The Pope said he meant to be with France and the Signory.

On the 2nd, the day of the Purification, the Pope went to the church of St. ———. The torches were borne by the ambassadors of France and Spain, and the Pope's canopy was carried by the ambassadors of England and Venice, and the Magnifico Lorenzino (de' Medici).

[*Extract, Italian.*]

Feb. 12.

Lettere del  
Collegio  
(Secreta).  
File no. 4.

**686. The DOGE and COLLEGE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.**

Give account of preparations for the siege of Brescia. Had taken into their service Theodoro Triulzi as Governor-general, with 200 men-at-arms in steel armour and 100 light horse, with an annual stipend of 30,000 ducats. King Francis had sent Mons. de Lautrec to command his forces.

[*Italian.*]

Feb. 12.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 56.

**687. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

On the 10th had communicated to the King, at Greenwich, the newsletters received from the State, and other advices from his correspondents at Constantinople. The King said he was glad to receive frequent news of the Turk, and that he was already acquainted with the Italian news, but that the siege of Brescia had been raised.

Considering it unadvisable to mention the moneys sent to Germany, in order to avoid exasperating the King, requested him to let the Imperial ambassador understand that he disapproved of the Emperor's occupying Brescia and Verona. Laconic reply of the King, that the Emperor complained of the siege of his own towns







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by Venice. Since the battle of Marignano, where the King of France defeated the Switzers with the aid of the Venetian army, the bias of all England towards the Signory had much changed; the whole country rejoicing at the Emperor's successes at Brescia. Some of the lords had said that Brescia and Verona did not rightfully belong to Venice. Discussed the matter with a person who had broached it to him, and proved to him that Venice acquired them in just war against the Dukes of Milan. The Lords had also said, wishing to detach Venice from France, that France, on obtaining peaceable possession of the Milanese, would seize the Venetian territory. Communicated this intelligence to the French ambassador, that he might inform King Francis that the State was held in account by other powers as well as by himself, and thus encourage him to hasten the recovery of the Signory's cities.

London, 12th February 1516.

[*Italian, 2½ pages, or 51 lines.*]

Feb. 18.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 57.

688. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

On receiving the Signory's letters of 14th of January, by King Henry's post from Rome, had endeavoured to obtain better information about the remittances. Repetition of the information already given. Statement made by a faithful Venetian, that 20,000*l.* had reached Nuremberg, for the Emperor. Apparent confirmation of the fact through the succour sent by the Emperor to Brescia, though the fact was doubtful, for in the first place some at least of the English ministry would have scrupled to affirm an untruth upon oath; secondly, the new Imperial ambassador would not have come to ask for money, had his sovereign received such a considerable sum so recently; thirdly, because it was reported on good authority that the English ministry had declared to the Imperial ambassador that King Henry would not give the Emperor a single ducat, until he performed his promise of entering Italy with a large army, to expel King Francis. Finally, understood from authentic sources that the King had cancelled the order for the remittance of the money. Did not know whether his own exertions had induced this result, or whether the English ministry had perceived their error.

On that day peace had been proclaimed between King Henry and the Archduke Prince of Castile.

London, 18th February 1516.

[*Italian, 2 pages, or 43 lines.*]

Feb. 20.

Lettere del  
Collegio  
(Secreta).  
File no. 4.

689. The DOGE and COLLEGE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Venetian Ambassador in England.

As they have now the means of transmitting their letters in safety, would not fail to acquaint Giustinian with all the Italian news, for communication to the King and Cardinal and other personages. Send an account of the events which had occurred since their last despatches. To remonstrate modestly with the King, stating that the treasure and blood of Christendom should be expended and shed against the Infidels, whose power and ambition were so notoriously terrible.

[*Italian.*]







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Feb. 20.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 58.

**690. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Public announcement of the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Arragon. The King had appointed two ambassadors to the Archduke, to condole with him; and the Archduke had likewise sent two ambassadors to England, to inform King Henry that their master had been made heir of all King Ferdinand's realms. The intelligence, it was supposed, had been kept secret during some days on account of the expected delivery of Queen Katharine, who, on that day (the 20th) had given birth to a daughter. Would offer the due congratulations on behalf of the State; had an heir male been born, would have done so already. Recommends the Signory to forward congratulatory missives, and also newsletters (*summarii de nove*).

London, 20th February 1516.

[*Italian, 1 page, or 20 lines.*]

Feb. 24.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 59.

**691. The SAME to the COUNCIL OF TEN.**

Details the christening of the Princess Mary on the 21st February. Sponsors, Cardinal Wolsey and the Duchess of Norfolk. Supposes this choice to have been made because the King did not wish to make any distinction between the representatives of the Emperor, France, Spain, and Venice. Considers this an act of prudent impartiality. On that day (24th February) went to the King, and congratulated him on the birth of his daughter and the well-being of the Queen; adding that the State would have been yet more pleased had the child been a son. The King returned thanks, saying, "We are both young; if it was a daughter this time, by the grace of God the sons will follow." Confidential communication made by the King that France was negotiating with the Emperor for peace, without the inclusion of Venice. After the King had departed, remained with the Cardinal and appointed a conference with him concerning the affair of the wines of Candia. Confirmation of the King's statement by the Cardinal. Replied cautiously both to the King and to the Cardinal. Had not imparted the matter to the French ambassador, deeming it his duty in the first place to announce it to the Signory, proceeding as it did "*ex ore Regis*."

London, 24th February 1516.

[*Italian, 2½ pages, or 58 lines.*]

March 5.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 9.

**692. REMITTANCES made by HENRY VIII.**

The King of England was the person who paid the Imperial troops, for which purpose he had remitted 120,000 ducats to Augsburg; and there was also a Papal ambassador with the Emperor: so that affairs were in great confusion.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

March 7.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 13.

**693. MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the SIGNORY.**

Dated 28th February and 1st and 3rd March.

The entry of the Pope into Rome on the 28th. Conversated with him about the present stir made by the Emperor, who was certainly







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coming into Italy with 22,000 men, paid by the King of England, and meant to attack France and the Signory, and to expel the King of France from Italy.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

March 7.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 45.

694. MARINO GIORGIO, Venetian Ambassador at Rome, to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Had been told by the Pope that he expected the French and Venetians to be worsted, and that he would have to fight single-handed, because the King of England aided the Emperor with money, &c.

[*Italian.*]

March 8.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 60.

695. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Arrangement made by Cardinal Wolsey for the discussion in Council of the Candian business a fortnight thence. Conversation with the Cardinal, who openly denied, by the honour of the cardinalate, that money had been sent either to the Emperor or to the Switzers. The State would comprehend the truth of that assertion by the result. Had understood the contrary daily, and fain would that the Cardinal spoke the truth. The Cardinal remarked that there would be yet time to adjust the disputes about Scotland, if King Francis recalled the Duke of Albany. Replied that he considered them already arranged by the appointment of commissioners.

Subsequently announced to the Cardinal news received in the Signory's letters dated 2nd February, in two letters from the most noble Gritti, and in one from the secretary Rosso at Milan, concerning Brescia and the agreement between the ten Swiss cantons and the King of France. The Cardinal did not receive the intelligence in the manner of those who are made acquainted with the successes of their friends. Said, in reply to the Cardinal's inquiries about the Emperor, the King of France, and the Switzers, that through the French ambassador he had merely understood that King Francis was in Provence, and expected at Lyons. The Cardinal mentioned a report of the death of King Francis, but did not believe it, though possibly he might be unwell. Threw discredit on both assertions. The Cardinal made the usual complaints against France, and said that the recall of the Duke of Albany would allay all the disturbance. Having been informed by the French ambassador that 50 or 60 ships had been armed by King Henry, (though there was not the slightest rumour of it in the town,) told the Cardinal reports were circulating that the remittances had really reached Inspruck, and that a great armada was being fitted out in England, evidently for no trifling purpose. The Cardinal solemnly denied both reports; only 10 or 12 of the King's ships in the Thames had undergone repairs. Exhorted him to effect peace between the two Kings; whereupon he made a long speech, saying that he was the author of the peace between King Henry and King Lewis, and of the marriage of the Lady Mary Tudor "to that infirm and decrepid monarch," slighting the alliance







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with the Archduke; and that reproaches had been cast on him for having shown himself more anxious for peace with France, than for the honour of his King; notwithstanding which he would exert himself for the maintenance of a good understanding between the two crowns, provided the King of France would conform to reason and recall the Duke of Albany. In reply, said he hoped the Cardinal and the ambassadors expected both from France and Scotland would arrange everything; and that if a decision favourable to this kingdom were arrived at through hostilities, his Lordship could not be greater than he was; but, if the result were disastrous, he, being at the helm, would be held responsible for every reverse, and for the taxes and burdens imposed upon the people. The Cardinal thanked him for his advice.

Proceeded from the Cardinal immediately to the Bishop of Durham, to whom he also communicated the summaries. The Bishop then inquired, "Where are the Swiss and the Emperor?" Said he imagined they were at home. He answered, "Rely upon it they are in Italy, 36,000 strong." Regrets expressed by him for the perilous position of the Signory. Everything was done to detach Venice from the French alliance. The Bishop vowed that if any money had been received by the Emperor from England, he was willing to be called a traitor; and when he (Giustinian) expressed surprise that the Emperor, not being worth a ducat, should have invaded Italy with 36,000 men, the Bishop repeated that the King had not given money to the detriment of Venice, but to the Switzers against the King of France. Replied that, as the Signory and France were united, it was impossible to aid the Switzers against France without injuring Venice. The Bishop rejoined that the Switzers were not the enemies of the State, but of the King of France, whom they did not choose to retain the territory held by him in Italy.

London, 8th March 1516.

[*Italian*, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  pages, or 102 lines.]

March 8.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvii. p. 2,  
tergo.

**696. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

The Pope gives them good words, but he should be treated with reserve, as the Emperor would not have commenced without an understanding with his Holiness. The Switzers and Grisons had been instigated by the Pope, and he had persuaded the King of England to disburse the money; but notwithstanding this, it would be desirable to speak the Pope fair, and not fail to prosecute the Italian war, which accomplished, all the rest would follow.

[*Latin*, 28 lines.]

March 8.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvii. p. 3.

**697. The SAME to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR at the PAPAL COURT.**

The Pope and all Italy have doubtless cause to dread the coming into Italy of the German troops, with the Emperor in person. The resolve of the Pope to prevent them is not only laudable but necessary; he is well aware of the Emperor's longing and designs,







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and of his constant and peculiar saying that the temporal power of the Church is his, and that he is destined to recover it. To tell the Pope in the Signory's name that, by good understanding and union with the most Christian King and with the State, he will not only make the enemy hesitate, but lose all their daring, as they now boast that his Holiness is with them. Commend the Pope extremely both for writing briefs to the King of England, and for endeavouring to maintain harmony between France and England.

To do his utmost to learn the Pope's mind, there being great cause to suspect that the Emperor would not have stirred without an understanding with him, and that he instigated the Switzers and the Grisons; whilst the King of England, being jealous of the greatness of the most Christian King, and of the Duke of Albany's regency of Scotland, consented more easily to disburse the money to the Emperor, possibly at the request of the Pope, made through the new Rt. Rev. Cardinal of York.

Ayes, 159. Noes, 2. Neutrals, 2.

[*Italian, 56 lines.*]

March 10.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 61.

698. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Arrival in London of two ambassadors from the Prince of Castile, the one Mons. de Roeux, formerly prisoner of war in Venice, and the other a prelate, a person of account, and very learned. On Sunday the 9th of March they had a public audience, the King and Court being in very sumptuous array. After the prelate had delivered a Latin oration, they went to church, and swore to the peace between King Henry and the Prince of Castile, to last for ever. Neither he (Giustinian) nor the French ambassador was present, as they had not been invited.

Next day went with the French ambassador to visit the two envoys. Complaints made by Mons. de Roeux of ill treatment received by him at Venice. He said his Prince intended to go to Castile, where he anticipated no opposition, obedience having been tendered to him by his brother the Archduke Ferdinand and the Castilian nobles. Clauses in the will of King Ferdinand the Catholic, bequeathing the kingdom of Naples to the Prince of Castile, and recommending to him the Queen widow. Displeasure of the French ambassador, who maintained that Naples ought to revert to France, as it was the dowry of the Queen, and she was childless. High estimation in which the King of England was held by the ambassadors of the Prince of Castile. They said they were to depart in two or three days.

London, 10th March 1516.

[*Italian, 3 pages, or 65 lines.*]

March 11.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 62.

699. The SAME to the SAME.

Communicated the Signory's despatches and newsletters to the King, who, having been indisposed during the last three days, received him alone, in his private chamber. Made a brief summary of them in Latin, which the King read. He said the agreement between the Switzers and the King of France would not take







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effect, for they had all agreed with the Emperor, and taken the French King's money in part payment of their claims upon him; that the Emperor and the Switzers were in Italy, between Verona and Milan, so that the Venetian army in the territory of Brescia could not succour the army of the French King; and that the French who were with the Duke of Bourbon had fled, the Duke and other great personages having withdrawn into the castle of Milan. The King exulted at the anticipated reverses of Venice. Defended her policy. Indignation of the King, who grew rather pale, becoming more angry than could have been credited, and displaying himself more openly the enemy of France. Attempted to appease the King by saying that, when all the princes of Christendom conspired against Venice, his Majesty was the sole beacon which remained to the Signory in such great darkness,—that all Christian sovereigns had bowed before him, *tanquam ad justissimum refugium*, but that even greater than his power or wealth were his justice, graciousness, and clemency. These and other compliments were induced by the King's having also said that he had done more for Venice than was ever done by his father or by any other prince who had been her friend; adding in an angry tone, that he then possessed more money and greater power and authority than had ever fallen to his own lot, or to that of his ancestors, so that he could obtain what he pleased from his fellow sovereigns. Panegyric passed on the Cardinal of Sion by the King. He expressed resentment because Venice did not accept his mediation for an adjustment between the Signory and the Emperor and the late King of Spain. Apologized to the effect that the Pope had previously undertaken to mediate between them, and would have taken offence, if he had been set aside for England, whose interposition, however, would have been much preferred by the whole Senate. The King assured him (Giustinian) that he would never injure Venice by means of his forces or money, and expressed surprise that he received only stale news thence. Requests the State to send advices. The King's authority with the Emperor, and with the Archduke likewise, was much greater than the King himself represented,

London, 11th March 1516.

[*Italian*, 5½ pages, or 116 lines.]

March 12.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 63.

#### 700. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Had acquainted the French ambassador with all that had passed between himself and King Henry, except the statement made by the King concerning negotiations between the Emperor and France, to the detriment of Venice, which the King had bound him to keep secret. Assigns reasons for not evincing distrust of the French ambassador, who informed him that he had received letters from a trustworthy person in Flanders, stating that 15,000 nobles, equivalent to 70,000 ducats, had been despatched thence to the Emperor, for the support of his army; that his Majesty was levying 10,000 men in Germany, whom he had ordered to come to Calais; and that there had been great disturbances in the kingdom of Naples between the French and Spanish partizans. Supposed these 10,000 men to be destined against Scotland, as they were







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to cross the Border in the spring,—not against France, as in that case King Henry would prefer employing Englishmen, by reason of the natural enmity between the two nations.

London, 12th March 1516.

[*Italian*, 2½ pages, or 48 lines.]

March 13.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xxxix. p. 86,  
tergo.

**701.** The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to the AMBASSADOR at the [PAPAL] COURT.

Arrival of the Emperor at Trent. March of his army out of Verona and across the Adige towards Peschiera. The Emperor will be unable to maintain his troops for many days, especially if the Pope would either contrive that the King of England should not continue sending money, or else intercept the supplies.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 1. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 36 lines.]

March 17.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 45.

**702.** REMITTANCES made by HENRY VIII.

Motion made in the Senate by the Sages for a letter to Sebastian Giustinian, ambassador in England, desiring him to exhort the King no longer to send money to the Emperor for hostilities against Venice and Italy.

[*Italian*.]

March 18.

Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvii. p. 4,  
tergo.

**703.** The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in ENGLAND.

The Emperor has come in person, with 15,000 men, including Switzers, Grisons, and Lansquenets, by way of Trent, crossed the Adige towards Bussolengo, and joined the troops from Verona, in number about 5,000. The allies have retreated towards Ponte Vico and the Cremonese, where the Duke of Bourbon arrived on the 13th instant with the rest of the French men-at-arms and a number of infantry, and were expecting to be joined by the recently subsidized Switzers. To acquaint the King with these particulars, as also with the accompanying newsletters from Constantinople; to inform his Majesty of the Emperor's thirst for universal dominion, and his desire to appropriate the temporal power of the Apostolic see, which he says he is destined to recover;\* and to show that whichever side prove victorious, peril must result to the Christian religion—Italy being drained of men, strength, and money—Venice, the constant bulwark against Turkish fury, weakened (*extenuato*), and the neighbouring powers depressed (*extenuati*). Anticipate nothing but ruin to Italy. Should the Emperor obtain his intent, *quod absit!* all can foresee the fate of the Papal States, and the revolutions, tumults, and scandalous disturbances which would ensue. Request his Majesty to stay this peril. To tell the King that the matter now under discussion is the destruction of the Venetian republic, at which the Emperor particularly aims. The Emperor boasts, and it is publicly reported in his army, that the troops are paid with the money of the King of England, and that they will also receive further similar payments.

\* Sa ben la Beatitudine sua qual sij l'appetito et li disegni de la Cesarea Maestà, et quello è continuo et peculiar dicto di quella—che'l dominio temporal de la Chiesa è suo, et che l'è factale (i. e. fatale) a lui recuperarlo."







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Cannot believe that his Majesty would give money for the purpose of injuring such very old friends and especial confederates as themselves. Trust therefore, when acquainted with the fact, he will not allow a power no less desirous of his prosperity than he is himself, to be overwhelmed by his money and by the Emperor's ill will.

To perform the like office and in much stronger form with Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of Durham; to tell them it is notorious that the payment made to the troops aforesaid has been effected with the money of the King of England, which has thus been expended to the Signory's detriment; and to pray the Cardinal, of his great goodness, no longer to permit these remittances, as they will prove the ruin of the State, and likewise of the temporal dominion of the Holy Apostolic See.

Postscript.—Have received his letters of the 6th, 7th, and 8th ultimo. Highly commend his proceedings. Glad to hear that the disputes with Scotland would be amicably arranged, as a perfect understanding between King Henry and King Francis would secure the quiet of all Christendom. To do his utmost to effect this result.

Ayes, 177. Noes 3. Neutrals, 0.

[*Italian*, 69 lines.]

March 18.  
Deliberazioni  
Senato Secreta,  
v. xlvii. p. 6.

**704. The DOGE and SENATE to the VENETIAN AMBASSADOR in FRANCE.**

Are advised by their ambassador in England, that the disputes with Scotland were on the eve of adjustment, which result will maintain the friendship between France and England.

[*Extract, Italian.*]

March 29.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 64.

**705. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

On the 26th received two letters from the Signory with summaries of Turkish news. Went to court to communicate them. The Cardinal told him he could not have audience of the King, who had therefore commissioned the Cardinal to give audience to him and the French ambassador. The Cardinal said he lamented that Christian blood was on the eve of being shed, through the Signory's thirst for empire; and that they were pursuing their own destruction, for the French King was endeavouring to make peace [with the Emperor]. Attempt of the English government to detach Venice from France by intimidation. Loss of despatches transmitted by him (Giustinian) to the Signory. Consigned his letters to the French ambassador for transmission through France to Italy, it not being so safe to deliver them to the merchants, as the couriers went through Flanders and Germany.

London, 29th March 1516.

[*Italian*, 3½ pages, or 73 lines.]

March 30.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 65.

**706. The SAME to the SAME.**

The King had received letters from King Francis, expressing his wish for the continuation of the peace, and that the disputes with Scotland should be settled by the ambassadors of the parties (*communi oratori*) who were expected from Scotland; the French ambas-







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sador in London and his colleague in Scotland mediating on behalf of the King of France. Cardinal Wolsey had told the French ambassador in London, that he believed King Francis did not wish to adjust matters, but merely to gain time, and further his own interests. An attack on Scotland was expected in the course of the spring, as England could not tolerate the supremacy of the Duke of Albany. Considered the outfit of a few English ships as an incentive to war, rather than a warlike movement. The ill will of the English towards France defied exaggeration; they no longer dissembled their feelings; they favoured the Emperor and disparaged King Francis, circulating a report that the Emperor was under Cremona with 34,000 Switzers and lansquenets, and 5,000 horse. Was viewed unfavourably by reason of the Venetian alliance with France. Concealed his conviction that succour was given both to the Emperor and to the Switzers by King Henry, lest the King should declare the State his enemy. Was therefore compelled, in his conferences with the King and the ministers, to speak as expedient for the Signory's interests.

London, 30th March 1516.

[*Italian, 2 pages, or 42 lines.*]

April 1.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 66.

707. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the COUNCIL OF TEN.

Gives an account of abusive language concerning the mutable policy of Venice, addressed to him at the court by two lay lords, great personages, who, amongst other things, said, "*Isti Veneti sunt piscatores.*" Replied that such an assertion would probably not have been made by one who had ever seen Venice, her Senate and nobility; but that nevertheless the Christian faith had been founded by fishermen, and that the Venetian fishermen had defended it against the Infidel. They rejoined that the fishermen of Venice were expert in seizing what belonged to others, and had filched something from all the potentates in the world; inquiring by what right Venice held Cyprus, which ought to belong to their King. Stated that Cyprus was voluntarily surrendered to Venice by the Queen, a Venetian gentlewoman, the sister of Georgio Cornaro.

The Cardinal then commenced, as usual, to complain of the King of France, accusing him of keeping Albany in Scotland, in spite of the league with King Lewis. Replied that he had seen a copy of letters from the King of France to King Henry, and that the former seemed extremely desirous of arranging this dispute. Then made an appointment to meet the Cardinal on the morrow, in order to clear the Signory from the above-mentioned accusations.

London, 1st April 1516.

[*Italian, 2½ pages, or 59 lines.*]

April 2.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 67.

708. The SAME to the SAME.

Met the Cardinal according to appointment. He said the Emperor was in the Veronese with a large army, and then began his usual complaints of the French King, roundly abusing the French ambassador. He stated that King Henry and himself desired peace with King Francis, to whom he wished the Signory to announce their good will. Exculpated the Signory from the charge brought







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against them, that they were rapacious and treacherous fishermen, and complained that the King had accused them of great perfidy; which expression had been repeated by many others. Defended the Signory's policy with respect to the aid which they rendered to King Francis, while endeavouring to recover Milan, as he was the ally both of themselves and of England. Said, moreover, that if it was meant that the Signory had broken faith by first allying themselves with the Pope, the Emperor, and England, and afterwards with King Lewis, it was the fault of the late King of Spain; for he and the Signory sent their armies to expel the French from Italy, subsidised 18,000 Switzers, who were paid entirely by the Signory, and by these means drove the French out of Italy; but afterwards, when Brescia was surrendered, the Spaniards refused to deliver it to the Signory's agents, and gave it up to the Emperor, which was contrary to the articles of the league, and induced Venice to make peace with King Lewis, who had promised to restore all he had taken from them. Said further that, when King Lewis was at war with England, Venice gave him no succour of men or money.

The Cardinal listened graciously, and answered that if the King had made use of the word perfidy, he (Giustinian) must have misunderstood its application, as the King did not accuse Venice of perfidy, but the King of France, who intended to deceive the Signory, and was endeavouring to make agreement with the Emperor to their ruin. Pretended to believe he had made a mistake, and requested the Cardinal's good offices in favour of Venice. In answer the Cardinal embraced him and said, "*Nil timeatis*, for we are by no means going to abjure your friendship."

London, 2nd April 1516.

[*Italian*, 5 $\frac{3}{4}$  pages, or 115 lines.]

April 8.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 104.

**709.** MARK ANTHONY COLONNA, Captain General of the Imperial army, to the EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN.

Letter in cipher, deciphered with great difficulty by the Venetian Zuan Soro. It is dated the 2nd, from Lodi. Requests the Emperor either to send him money for the pay of the lansquenets, or else to come himself in person, as the agents of the King of England refuse to pay the 20,000 ducats to any but the Switzers, and that sum will not suffice, for 4,000 ducats additional are needed for another Swiss company 4,000 strong. Should the money not be sent within a week, the Switzers intend to depart, and will be compelled to quit Lodi for want of provisions.

[*Italian*.]

April 9.  
Lettere del  
Collegio  
(Secreta).  
File no. 6.

**710.** The DOGE and COLLEGE to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassador in England.

Commend his replies to the King and Cardinal. Give account of the affairs of the Romagna. The armies of the Duke Lorenzo de' Medici, and of Francesco Maria della Rovere, were both in the field. The troops of Duke Lorenzo had taken the castle of St. Constanzo by storm, and put many Spaniards within to the sword. Francesco Maria had taken Monte Barozo by storm, and put the garrison to the sword in retaliation. Francesco Maria had







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also stormed and taken the castle of Mondolfo, because it enabled Duke Lorenzo to cut off his supplies. Francesco Maria was wounded by a musket shot, on one side of his head near the ear, the ball passing to the shoulder, but the injury was not considered serious, though he had to quit the camp, and was conveyed by water to Ancona. He (Giustinian) is not to quote the Signory as authority for this intelligence, but in case of need he may give the true account, with suitable circumspection and reserve. The 400 spears sent by the King of France to aid Duke Lorenzo, had passed through Rimini.

[*Italian.*]

April 12.

**711. ALLIANCE between ENGLAND and FRANCE.**

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 113.

Report in Venice that an adjustment was on foot; and letters from France stated that King Francis meant to form a close alliance with the King of England, ceding Scotland to him, and a part of the kingdom . . . . .; \* so that King Henry would send no more money to the Emperor.

[*Italian.*]

April 14.

**712. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 68.

News had reached the King by way of Flanders that the Emperor had advanced with a powerful army to the suburbs of Milan, and that the army of France and Venice had retreated; but subsequently letters from the King of France, dated the 2nd, announced that the Emperor had proceeded to the neighbourhood of Milan, but recrossed the Adda, on perceiving the determination of the people of the town and duchy to maintain their allegiance to the King of France. The English ministry did not believe this intelligence. The adverse tidings produced no stir, and occasioned no further remittance of money. Had ascertained from an authentic source that 150,000 crowns, received from the King of England, had been actually distributed amongst the Imperial army.

Cardinal Wolsey and the Bishop of Durham had apologized for the abuse of Venice already detailed. Answered that, their interpretation of the King's language being satisfactory, it was indifferent what opinion might be entertained of the Venetians by others.

Had that day been visited by the Papal nuncio, Francesco Chierigato, who had arrived on the 13th. Reminded him of the favours received by his uncle, the Bishop of Concordia, from the Signory. He said he should have great power with the King and the Cardinal, as he was the bearer of very strong letters from the Pope, who was endeavouring to regain this kingdom, which had become somewhat alienated from him, owing to this new friendship with France. The nuncio also said he was not come, according to the common belief, as collector of Peter's pence, but to negotiate public affairs, and especially a general peace, or at least a four years' truce; and promised to acquaint him with his progress, provided he (Giustinian) informed the Signory, whose agents had never announced the good offices which he had effected

\* Blank in the original.







1516.

with the King of Spain and the Swiss Cardinal of Sion. Was cautioned to avoid open display of intimacy with him.

Does not know whether his frequent letters have reached the Council of Ten, or have miscarried in passing through Germany or France, through the negligence of the French secretaries. His despatches of the 30th ult. and 2nd instant were detained at Calais by the King's command, to see what the French ambassador in England had written, it being suspected by the Lords that he wrote to the worst of his knowledge. It being discovered that he had done so, he was severely reprimanded by the Cardinal. His (Giustinian's) letters being written in cipher, trusts they have proved unintelligible. Understands they were allowed to be conveyed to the French court.

London, 14th April 1516.

[*Italian, 3 $\frac{3}{4}$  pages, or 80 lines.*]

April 18.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 128.

**713. GIOVANNI BADOER, Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.**

Lyons, 8th and 9th April.

Assurances of King Francis that he would not desert the State; that he had made arrangements for an agreement with the King of England, by whom the Emperor was supplied with money, by ceding Scotland to him; and that the adjustment would be easy, because King Henry laid claim to a share in Castile in right of his wife, the daughter of the late King.

[*Italian.*]

April 20.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 69.

**714. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Belief at the English court of false news concerning the Emperor's successes in the Milanese, and the retreat of the French and Venetians. Was unwilling to contradict the assertions of the King and the ministry.

Had recently visited Cardinal Wolsey, who regretted the probable effusion of Christian blood in Italy, which might have been avoided, if the King of France had maintained a good understanding with England. He complained, as usual, of the Duke of Albany, and expressed anxiety for peace, but believed that the ambassadors who were expected from Scotland would be guided solely by the will of King Francis.

The Cardinal expatiated on the ambition of the King of France, for which, he said, the world did not suffice, and that he was then endeavouring to obtain Naples from the Archduke. The Cardinal regretted that Venice would be ruined through her good faith. Replied that he believed the French King had every reason to maintain a good understanding with England. Hint dropped by the Cardinal that he would much approve of the Signory's mediation between the two crowns.

London, 20th April 1516.

P. S.—Expected arrival in London on the morrow of the French and Scottish ambassadors.

[*Italian, 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  pages, or 91 lines.*]



with the King of Spain and the Swiss Cardinal of Sion. cautioned to avoid open display of intimacy with him. Does not know whether his frequent letters have reached Council of Ten, or have miscarried in passing through German. France through the negligence of the French secretaries. His patches of the 20th ult. and 2nd instant were detained at Calais the King's command, to see what the French ambassador in England had written, it being suspected by the Lords that he wrote worst of his knowledge. It being discovered that he had so, he was severely reprimanded by the Cardinal. His (Clement) letters being written in cipher, trusts they have proved uninteresting. Understands they were allowed to be conveyed to the French.

London, 14th April 1516.

[Italian, 2½ pages or 30 lines.]

VIS. GIOVANNI BADOER, Ambassador in France to  
Sion.

Lyon, 25th and 26th April.

Ambassador of King Francis that he would not desert the King that he had made arrangements for an agreement with the King of England, by whom the Emperor was supplied with money, ceding Scotland to him; and that the adjustment would be because King Henry laid claim to a share in Castile in right of wife the daughter of the late King.

[Italian.]

VIS. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Heard at the English court of false news concerning the Emperor's success in the Milanese, and the retreat of the French. Was unwilling to contradict the assertions of the French, and the ministry.

Had recently visited Cardinal Wolsey, who requested the prohibition of Christian blood in Italy, which might have been avoided. If the King of France had maintained a good understanding with England, he complained as usual of the Duke of Albany, expressed anxiety for peace, but believed that the ambassadors were expected from Scotland would be guided solely by the will of King Francis.

The Cardinal expatiated on the ambition of the King of France for which, he said, the world did not suffice, and that he was endeavoring to obtain Naples from the Archbishop. The Cardinal regretted that Venice would be ruined through her good reason. Replied that he believed the French King had every reason to maintain a good understanding with England. His dropped the Cardinal that he would much approve of the Signory's distinction between the two crowns.

London, 20th April 1516.

F.S.—Expected arrival in London on the morrow of the French and Scottish ambassadors.

[Italian, 4½ pages or 51 lines.]

April 18.  
Benedictus Dantes,  
v. xlii. p. 128.

April 20.  
Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Venetian. Was unwilling to contradict the assertions of the French, and the ministry.



1516.

April 22.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii.  
pp. 140, 141.

## 715. ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and the EASTERLINGS.

Letter communicated to the Signory by the Ferrarese ambassador, received from his Duke, Don Alfonso, dated the 20th.

There were advices from Spain that the Duke of Najara and the Marquis of Villena had recaptured their castles and towns, of which they were deprived by the late King; and that the King of England was apprehensive about the affairs of Scotland, because the Scots were aided by the King of Denmark and the other Easterlings ("Sterlini," Hansards or Hanse towns).

[Italian.]

April 24.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 145.

## 716. GIOVANNI BADOER, Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.

Lyons, 16th April.

King Francis intended to arrange matters with the King of England, whom he knew to be the person by whom the whole of the present war against him was waged, and that the King of England had sent and continued sending money to the Emperor for payment of the troops.

[Italian.]

April 25.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 147.

## 717. RETURN of ANDREA BADOER from ENGLAND to VENICE.

Note by Sanuto that on that day, at the vesper hour, Andrea Badoer, knight, who had been seven years ambassador in England, arrived. He had quitted Mirano on that day, and landed at St. Michiel de Murano, where sundry patricians, including Marin Sanuto, were awaiting him. He crossed himself with the relic of the most holy Cross, and was accompanied by the patricians to his dwelling. Badoer was looking very well indeed. He had been four months on the journey, having quitted London in December.

[Italian.]

April 26.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 149.

## 718. RETURN of ANDREA BADOER to VENICE.

Appearance on that morning in the College of Andrea Badoer, knight, accompanied by his relations. Made a brief report of England, for when commencing with the account of his departure seven years ago, the Doge referred him to the Senate, telling him there was no occasion to state the cause of his mission, as circumstances were changed. On his homeward journey, having received a letter from the State desiring him to see King Francis at Avignon, went back unwillingly, and spoke to the King at Lyons. Was short of money, but obtained a remittance on the road. At length reached Milan, and came on by the "*via Romea*" to —, and then to Venice. Had been on this embassy during seven years and — days. Presented a letter from the King of England to the Signory, much in his praise. The Doge commended him, and referred him to the Senate.

Perusal in the Senate in the afternoon of six letters from Sebastian Giustinian, ambassador in England, dated 29 and 30 March, and 8, 9 and 12 April; strict injunctions being given to keep their contents very secret.

[Extract, Italian.]







1516.

April 26.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 70.

**719. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Arrival in London on the 24th of the Scottish ambassadors, together with the ambassador from King Francis lately resident in Scotland. Visited them. They were commissioned by the King of France and by the kingdom of Scotland to settle the disputes with the King of England.

Receipt on the 25th of a letter from King Francis dated the 17th, addressed to King Henry, acquainting him with the flight of the Emperor and his army, and that they were already out of Italy. Great surprise of the English ministers, who anticipated a contrary result, in which case it was considered certain that they would have declared themselves. Change of policy considered possible, for, although no manifest signs of war had been visible, yet ships and ammunition were being prepared, some said against Scotland, others against France; though the truth was only known to the King and four of his councillors, who kept all secret. Recall of the French ambassador hitherto resident in London. Intended to accompany him towards the coast. As the road to Italy through France is now open, requests them to write.

London, 26th April 1516.

[*Italian*, 1½ page, or 31 lines.]

April 28.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. pp. 151,  
152.

**720. ZACARIA LOREDAN, BAILIFF of CREMA, to the SIGNORY.**

Transmits letters from the Emperor, intercepted in the Valtellina, dated 18 April, addressed to the Marquis of Brandenburg and other German and Swiss commanders, urging them to wait, as he would soon send them their money, and apologizing for not having sent it before, on the plea of not having known that the Brescians (*quelli di Brexa*) had seized the money sent for his account by the King of England.

[*Italian*.]

April 28.

Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 158.

**721. GIOVANNI BADOER, Venetian Ambassador in France, to the SIGNORY.**

Lyons, 18th and 19th April.

King Francis was sending Monsieur de Boissi, the Lord Steward, and six others into Picardy with the agents of the Archduke, to discuss the affairs of Scotland and of the kingdom of Naples.

[*Italian*.]

April 29.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 71.

**722. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.**

Had heard from two trustworthy persons that the King had again remitted a large sum, part in cash, and a greater amount in bills of exchange, payable in divers places in Germany. One of the informants rated the entire sum at 150,000 crowns; the other did not specify any amount. Both spoke on the authority of the Frescobaldo firm, which was commissioned to make the payments where the King pleased, and said that the money was for the pay of the Imperial army, "*cum hac lege*," that it was not to be disbursed until after the receipt of fresh advices from London.

The terms of the contract allowing time to prevent the payment, went immediately to Cardinal Wolsey, and told him what he had







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heard, expressing surprise, because the Emperor, having suffered defeat, could not return into Italy, whatever promises he might make; that even were he to return he would not find provisions, as King Francis had confiscated the property of the Imperial partisans in the Milanese, and banished them; that it would be very difficult for the Emperor to raise a fresh army speedily; that the money of the King of England could only exasperate the King of France; that this money would merely retard the recovery of Brescia and Verona by the Signory, who was bound to England by ancient friendship and by the recent confederacy; that the Cardinal should also remember that unprofitable expenditure subjected those who made it to contempt abroad and to great complaints and discontent at home; and that he, the Cardinal, who ruled everything (*che governa il tutto*), would be more subject to such calumnies than any other person, and was playing a very perilous game.

Reply of Cardinal Wolsey, who returned thanks for a communication indicating so much love for the King and for himself, but declared that those who gave the information "*mentierunt in caput suum*." He said the King had never even thought of doing what was attributed to him, as was evident from the last letters received by King Henry from King Francis, purporting that the Emperor and his army had escaped into Germany from lack of money and provisions. This could not have been the case had England supplied funds, and still less was it credible that the King should give the Emperor money to return to Italy. With regard to Brescia and Verona, he said that no sovereign was so anxious for the welfare of Venice as King Henry; nor would he injure her with his money, which he was, however, at liberty to spend as he pleased, especially on behalf of the Emperor, in connexion with the Catholic King.\* He said, in conclusion, "But at any rate beware lest you be deluded and deceived by those in whom you trust, as I have told you repeatedly."

London, 29th April 1516.

[*Italian, 4 pages, or 90 lines.*]

April 29.  
Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xl. p. 7.

723. The COUNCIL OF TEN to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassador in England.

Had heard of complaints made against the Signory in England, and were reassured by his letters. Their sincerity was manifest, and should be known to the King and the Cardinal. They engaged and paid the 18,000 Switzers, and also gave the Spanish army upwards of 100,000 ducats, but Spain did not make the promised return. They had no alternative but to make an agreement with his most Christian Majesty, though before they negotiated with the late King Lewis, all their confederates had concluded and sworn to a league with the Emperor, to the Signory's ruin. They made war on no one, but were compelled to defend themselves. Repeat assurances of their devotion to King Henry, whose love they esteem as much as that

\* In the original: "Præsertim a la Ces. Maestà, intravegnando questo Cath<sup>co</sup> Re."







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of any other Christian sovereign, and whose power, goodness, friendliness, and rare and most excellent endowments of mind and body, are very well known to them; and this he is to affirm to the King.

Perceiving what Cardinal Wolsey said to him on the subject, have written to their ambassador in France to urge King Francis so to act that King Henry may have no cause for complaint; and do not doubt the willingness of King Francis to act accordingly.

Recount the movements of the Imperialists and Switzers in Lombardy, and of the contributions exacted by the latter at Bergamo, which entailed the destruction of chalices, church plate, and crucifixes. Are anxious to avoid a general engagement.

To assure the Cardinal that they place great trust in him, and request him to favour the interests of the State. Had received the enclosed advices of the Turks having approached the Venetian confines. The discord amongst Christians invites this attack.

[*Italian*, 86 lines.]

April 29.

Misti  
Consiglio X.  
v. xl. p. 7.

724. The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to PIETRO PASQUALIGO, Ambassador in France.

By Giustinian's letters they learn that the King of England, Cardinal Wolsey, and other lords are ill disposed towards the most Christian King and the Signory. Acquaint him with this intelligence that he may impart it with such address as requisite to his most Christian Majesty.

Ayes, 27. Noes, 0. Neutrals, 0.

[*Extract. Italian.*]

May 1.

Original Letter  
Book, St. Mark's  
Library,  
Letter no. 72.

725. SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN to the SIGNORY.

Expected arrival of the Queen of Scotland in London on the 3rd. Would go to meet her. Report of her divorce from the Earl [of Angus], and intended marriage with the Emperor Maximilian. Those in authority maintained that, as all Scotland at the time of her marriage was under excommunication for an act perpetrated against a papal bull, the Earl was unable to contract matrimony.

Good understanding between the Emperor, England, and Spain. Ambassador in London from the King of Spain (Bernard de Mesa, Bishop of Elna and Trinopoli), the same who had been formerly accredited to King Henry by the late King Ferdinand. He was very intimate with the Emperor's ambassador (Bartholomew Count Tationo), and had frequent audiences of the Cardinal. Had been informed that the King of Spain was on very friendly terms with the King of England, and averse to France. If it were not so, he would not have allowed the money destined for the Emperor to pass through his territories; and moreover a few days ago he sent to the Emperor 200,000 crowns, which he had recently received from





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the kingdom of Naples and from Sicily. His (Giustinian's) informant had been at the courts of Spain and Lady Margaret.

London, 1st May 1516.

[*Italian*, 1½ page, or 35 lines.]

May 1.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 167.

**726.** The COUNCIL OF TEN and JUNTA to SEBASTIAN GIUSTINIAN, Ambassador in England.

(This letter was submitted to the Senate.)

Had received a letter from Andrea Griti, stating that the English ambassador in the enemy's camp had said a person there wished to speak with Griti upon matters advantageous for the Signory.

[*Extract. Italian.*]

May 3.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. p. 171.

**727.** ANDREA BADOER'S Report of ENGLAND.

Report of England made to the Senate by Andrea Badoer. He narrated the toil and peril undergone by him, and what he had done in England. On his departure the King gave him a gold chain worth 500 ducats and a letter, which was read to the Senate. On coming down from the tribune, Badoer, according to custom, was commended by the Doge.

[*Italian.*]

May 3.  
Sanuto Diaries,  
v. xxii. pp. 171,  
172.

**728.** KING HENRY VIII. to DOGE LEONARDO LOREDANO.

Although in other letters he had announced his unwillingness to dismiss the Doge's old ambassador Andrea Badoer, had nevertheless given him leave to depart, as Badoer had notified the expediency of departure for his own interests, and his successor was a person so well qualified as to reconcile the King to it. As a testimonial of respect for his eminent endowments, had conferred on him the honour of knighthood; thus recommending him to the State, whose favours bestowed on Badoer would be extremely agreeable to the King. Badoer had performed his mission with the greatest diligence and discretion; had shown himself regardless of age and health, often appearing before the King when scarcely convalescent; and had always, under so many changes of circumstances, displayed such modesty and moderation, as to endear himself both to the King and all the great personages of the realm. The King therefore recommends him to the favour of the Doge, and requests credence for him with respect to certain announcements which he will make, in the King's name, on behalf of his very dear friends the Duke of Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua.

Greenwich, 22 Oct. 1515.

[*Signed* :] Henricus.

[*Countersigned* :] Andreas Ammonius.

[*Latin.*]

May 3.  
Senato Terra,  
v. xix. p. 82.

**729.** DECREE of the SENATE.

Put to the ballot, that the gold chain, which Andrea Badoer received as a gift from the King of England, be given to the said Andrea Badoer.

Ayes, 123. Noes, 34. Neutrals, 0.

Apr. 123. Nov. 24. Westph. 6.

Andreas Baboer.

Received as a gift from the King of England, which Andreas Baboer.

729. DECREE OF THE SENATE.

[Latin.]

[Commentary:] Andreas Ammann.

[Signed:] Henricus.

Greenwich, 22 Oct. 1516.

and the Margins of Martin.

King's name on behalf of his very dear friends the Duke of

with respect to certain announcements which he will make

meads him to the favour of the Duke, and requests mention

all the great personages of the realm. The King therefore

modesty and modesty, as to endanger himself both to the

always under so many changes of circumstances, display

often appearing before the King when severely convalescent;

and discretion; had shown himself regardless of age and

King. Baboer had performed his mission with the greatest

favour bestowed on Baboer would be extremely agreeable

honour of knight-hood; thus recommending him to the State

respect for his eminent endowments, had conferred on

well qualified as to reconcile the King to it. As a testimony

of departure for his own interests, and his successor was a

given him leave to depart, as Baboer had notified the King

dismiss the Duke's old ambassador Andreas Baboer, had never

Although in other letters he had announced his unwilling

May 3.

Senato Dilecto.  
v. xlii. p. 117.

[Latin.]

commended by the Duke.

coming down from the Tribune, Baboer, according to custom

worth 500 ducats and a letter, which was read to the Senate

done in England. On his departure the King gave him a good

narrated the toil and peril undergone by him, and what

Senato Dilecto.  
v. xlii. p. 117.

May 3.

727. ANDREAS BABOER'S REPORT OF ENGLAND.

Report of England made to the Senate by Andreas Baboer

ambassador in the enemy's camp had said a person there

Had received a letter from Andreas Grit, stating that the

(This letter was submitted to the Senate.)

Ambassador in England.

May 1.  
Senato Dilecto.  
v. xlii. p. 117.

726. THE COURSE OF THE JURY TO SENATE.

London, 1st May 1516.

[Latin, 1 1/2 page, or 32 lines]

London, 1st May 1516.

had been at the courts of Spain and Lady Margaret.

the kingdom of Naples and from Sicily. His (Gustavus's) is













